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P L A N
O F
R E - U N I O N
B E T W E E N
G R E A T B R I T A I N
A N D
H E R C O L O N I E S.

Ea tempestate, mihi imperium populi R. multo maxime miserabile visum est: cui, cum ad occasum ab ortu solis omnia domita armis parerent, domi otium, atque divitiæ, quæ prima mortales putant, affluerent; fuere tamen cives, qui seque, remque publicam obstinatis animis perditum irent. Nam semper in civitate, quibus opes nullæ sunt, bonis invident, malos extollunt; vetera odere, nova exoptant, odio suarum rerum mutari omnia student; turba atque seditionibus sine cura aluntur, quoniam egestas facile habetur sine damno.

SALUST.

L O N D O N,

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[MDCCLXXVIII.]



T O
T H E G E N T L E M E N,
T H E C O M M I T T E E
F O R
R E C E I V I N G S U B S C R I P T I O N S,
F O R T H E
S O L D I E R S W O U N D E D I N A M E R I C A;

I N H O P E S O F

Its contributing something towards carrying on the
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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE outlines of the following Plan are taken from a manuscript on the improvement of the sugar-colonies, which the author has had in hand these ten years. It has been extracted and fitted for a temporary publication, in hopes of its contributing something to elucidate the rights of Britain, deserted and betrayed as she is, by too many of her ungrateful sons. It was prepared, in another form, for publication, two years ago. How it happened to be strangled in the birth, is not here necessary to be told; but that it has gained something in method and substance by the delay. Perhaps the excuse may not be sustained; but the author's attention was so much engaged by the subject, that the form or style became only a secondary consideration; and as he wrote for the information not the amusement of the public, he readily sacrificed the last to the first. Such as it is, he offers it as his genuine unbiaſſed

sentiments, and only wishes he could give his country more effectual assistance in this important struggle. Concerning his success, he is only anxious as far as the cause of his country is agitated. That cause is good, and deserves the ablest defender.

The author attempts not a competition with any of those true patriots, who, in this critical time, have stood up for Britain's rights. His studies and his situation, as an inhabitant of the colonies, led him, before he had the pleasure of perusing their writings, to consider the subject in a particular point of view, which, he finds, interferes not with their several plans, and yet, he hopes, may carry some conviction with it, and be found adapted to some particular understandings. He has made the best use in his power of the great intercourse between North America and the place of his abode; and he hopes this circumstance has enabled him to draw some leading features of the Americans, more accurately than can easily be done on the other side of the Atlantic.

The partizans of America draw all their strength in argument from a perversion of words, and, with the magic of a few popular

pular phrases, would fain annihilate reason, duty, gratitude, and obedience. This has induced the author to be at pains to analyse these mighty engines of rebellion, and confine each to its due use. How immense, for example, are the powers of the words Taxation and Representation; the Taxation of America by a British Parliament, on pronouncing them, swells into a monster of tyranny and oppression. Call but America a part of the British state, and say, the parliament possesses the legislative powers of the state, and the taxation of America is reduced to a simple attribute of the sovereignty. The man, who supposes taxes to be gifts, will contend for the necessity of their being voluntary; let him consider them as the price of protection, he will pay them as he would an honest debt. He who views the sovereign as the enemy or rival of the people, will grudge every penny that is raised for the public expences; let him consider taxes as intended to carry on the republica, or national interest, he acquiesces in them as necessary to promote private benefit. He who thinks obedience voluntary, will contend for personal representation; he, who has discovered its im-

practicability, will be content with virtual representation, and a common interest between the legislature and the people.

This perversion of words has helped the Americans to confound the rights of persons with the claims of corporations. For the individual to be secure in life, liberty, and property, is essential to a free state; hence they deduce, that no power can lay a restriction on, or direct the industry of, any particular province or corporation. Yet no maxim is better established in politics, than that every local privilege must yield to the general good of the state. The Isle of Man had once a free intercourse with foreigners. It was found hurtful to the trade and revenue of the kingdom; and was therefore put under restrictions. England produced tobacco; to encourage America, an heavy fine was laid upon the man who should continue to plant it in England. Britain could procure sugar, hemp, indigo, iron, tar, and many other important articles, much cheaper from foreigners; to improve her colonies, she obliges herself to buy such articles only from them. America readily takes the benefit of the restrictions which operate in her favour; but puts in

the caveat of privilege, or natural right, against being restricted in her turn ; as if the purpose of society were to render ineffectual general improvement. She would trade to all the world, would take the protection of our fleets, claim exemption from taxes either to liquidate her debts or support her establishment, would have no restraint on smuggling ; while Britain supports her government, pays her debts, and ruins herself by giving America a monopoly of trade. Is all this just, is natural liberty or personal security concerned in the dispute ; yet take these and a few such words away, and the subject will not bear even the form of an argument.

By this perversion of words a constant jealousy is kept up between the sovereign and the people ; which will ever keep the state from the full exertion of its strength. Government is held up as a distinct and hateful combination, insidiously watching for an opportunity to attack the privileges of the people. Where, as in Britain, a man is one day a legislator and the next a private citizen, there is a common interest between the sovereign and people ; and it may be defined the government of all by the

the administration of a few. In such a community, the affairs of the whole are agitated in every measure of government, and every man has virtually a voice as well as an interest in it. The sovereign may be defined to be the people in their active capacity, the people is the sovereign in the collective sense. The sovereign transacts his own, not the affairs of an enemy or rival; he is subject to the mistakes of human nature, but cannot injure the people at large without hurting himself.

It is of consequence to combat such notions as these, because there is in the kingdom an industrious set, who, assuming the name of a popular party, and appropriating these and such phrases to their dark designs, have imposed on too many well meaning people, and gone no inconsiderable length in undermining the foundations of our constitution. According to them, every man is at liberty to form his little party, nay his individual self, into a separate independent state, and bid defiance to all the claims and rights of society. Religion, law, virtue, as far as they respect the state, are, with these people, idle words. Every man has an inherent right not only to
6 frame,

frame, according to his own extravagant fancy, but to broach among his neighbours, his own tenets of religion, his own code of laws, his own maxims of conduct; and it matters not, should they contradict the will of the Deity, natural or revealed, should they oppose the laws of his country, infringe the rights, or destroy the character, of his neighbour. So much do these notions prevail, so fatally do they fall in with the depraved humours of the age, that the friend of virtue and his country would rather be vindicated for going out of his way, than excused for neglecting an opportunity to attack them. Religion, virtue, and the constitution, at this time call loudly for the help of every honest man, to support them, and deliver them down to prosperity unshorn of their rights. And it is the duty of every friend of his country to watch over the conduct of a faction, which, under the pretence of freedom, and of vindicating the natural rights of mankind, are daily publishing invectives and libels against the laws and religion of the state *.

If

* In the struggle in the reign of Charles I. the opposition was made up of men of strict lives, who entertained

If an account is required of the freedom
with which he has mentioned opposition,
the

tained proper notions of the dignity of man, and aimed at establishing the equal rule of law. The heads of the modern dissenters, who pretend to succeed them in their religious and political tenets, comprehend within their pale, every atheistical profligate, every enemy to decency, religion, and law. They affect to exalt the individual at the expence of the community, and are for destroying all order, that each man may reign the monarch of himself. Hence their opposition to authority, their abhorrence of every idea, which considers the community as one, co-operating to a particular purpose, bound together by one common interest. Yet while they pretend to exalt the individual, and set him above restraint, in order to make him a fit instrument for their own ambition, they degrade him in his nature and expectations. That great book-maker, Priestley, has annihilated the soul, and reduced the whole man to dust of the earth, Common sense is no longer a guide in human life, and existence in a future state must suppose a new creation. All the tender ties of family, relations, and country must, according to him be sought for in excremental stimulus. Price shews himself a traitor against society, virtue, and religion in every line; yet could find people to circulate fourteen editions of the dull poison in three months. Another tells you, that though he himself be a sound Calvinist, yet reason is to be found only on the side of infidelity. And a fourth tells his people that they need not consider marriage as any longer binding, than they can love one another. A fifth frames a liturgy that may be addressed to Jupiter or Jehovah. In short to wriggle themselves into notice, that in time they may be enabled to overthrow the constitution in church and state, they abandon the preciseness of their sect, and favour that spirit of Epicurianism, licentiousness, and dissipation, which is the characteristic of the age; and they only
want

the author might content himself with answering, that their treatment is more mild than that which their adversaries receive from them. Men of such extraordinary sentiment as they, who can weep for their country while contriving its ruin, may be able to give different names to things; but, when their country is struggling for existence, to spread division among her sons, and weaken the hands of those engaged in her cause, in common apprehension, cannot easily be separated from treason. When a contemptible rebellion broke out in Scotland, unsupported by interest, contradicted by sentiment, did all parties think it need-

want the test act, and a few other defences, which the piety of our ancestors has erected about the constitution, done away, to begin the glorious work of anarchy. With this view, they are insensibly insinuating themselves into our corporations, and while they pretend to consider them in the hands of ministry as the rotten part of the constitution, they are trying to make them in their own hands the instruments of our ruin. Never had honest men such cause to be alarmed for the consequences of evil principles in the state, as at this period. Vice is, must ever be, injurious to public prosperity; but if it be acknowledged for such, there is left room for reformation to enter; when principles are once corrupted, nothing but ruin can follow. And this ruin to every thing that respects virtue, liberty, and law must be the necessary consequence of embracing the principles of these would be philosophers.

ful to unite with vigour and zeal to enable government to crush it in the bud ; and, at present, when we are struggling for all the fruits of all the wars we have carried on, and the debts we have contracted, since the Revolution, shall we have a party among us, who encourage and stimulate our adversaries in their opposition, and yet pretend to be the best friends of their country ?

Let us suppose, that ministry and parliament were both originally as wrong as an American congress, assisted by the rhetoric of Burke, can paint them ; and let us suppose, what perhaps may be the case, that not more than ten men, in America, had originally the design of using that ill-behaviour as an instrument to promote an irreconcilable rupture between the countries : yet America, by espousing the cause of the intriguing demagogues, and aiming their opposition against the supremacy and commerce of the mother-country, has now confirmed it to be a national quarrel with Britain. And can Britons be injured in their country, and stand by unconcerned, or take the part of her foes ; and yet pretend to honesty or patriotism ? Nothing but the lenity of a government, against the tyranny of
which

which they affect to exclaim, and which, on every occasion, they abuse, could have encouraged so many, as have engaged in these treasonable practices against their country.

The present dispute can never be ended to the advantage of either party, unless Britain shall prescribe the terms. To point out the propriety of generosity in these terms is one great design of the following essay. The noblest feelings of a conqueror are, when he resolves to adopt the vanquished into liberty and freedom. This last atchievement perhaps was wanting to complete the glory of Britain; to afford an opportunity of annulling all the little colony-systems, and extending that indiscriminating supremacy of law, which takes place in Albion alone.

CON-

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I N T R O -

INTRODUCTION.

OUR design is to propose a plan for improving the union between Great Britain and her colonies, and fixing it on the firm foundation of mutual interest and utility. As the subject is of universal concern, it demands the serious attention of all; as it is offered to the public, with the best design, it claims, as its right, indulgence and candour.

In the prosecution of our plan, we shall have occasion to call in to our aid the controul of the British parliament; and shall be obliged to arm it with a discretionary power of government, including taxation,
B through-

throughout the whole dominions of the state. Twenty years ago, it would have been unnecessary to have agitated such a question, since every independent state or kingdom must ever include the supposition of a sovereign, and a sovereign must ever include the supposition of a power, extending to every proper, every necessary act of government; and since, in the British dominions, we have no other power to dispute this privilege with the British parliament. But, within this period, we have made such surprising advances in the science of politics, as to have now plainly discovered, that no man is to be further bound by law, or give farther assistance to his country, than it shall at any time please himself: or, according to this new doctrine, every man is, or should be, his own legislator; and should, or ought, to determine, by himself, or his deputy appointed, or instructed, for that particular purpose, whether he shall contribute any thing, or nothing, to his own protection. And though the man owes to his country, the distinction of rank, the benefit of education, the security of his

his possessions, and the protection of his person; yet all these obligations form no claim upon him, either of gratitude or duty. He may suffer his neighbours and countrymen to expend their property, and wear themselves out in the common defence, while he continues to enjoy the security, which they have purchased for him, without putting himself to trouble or expence. And, whenever he pleaseth, he may steal himself and his property away, from his country, and the common stock; it is a theft, which carries no imputation of guilt with it.

This is a doctrine destructive of all order and improvement, in every case, wherein there is a single dissenting voice, wherein there is a single discontented individual, that is, in every possible case, wherein the public good can be agitated. For can we feign a proposal, to which self-interest, or caprice, or ambition, cannot, nay will not, be opposed. And as all our purposed improvements overleap the narrow systems of prejudice, and the contracted mounds, within which selfishness lies entrenched, aiming at public good, and holding out

general advantage, it will be necessary to demolish this new-fangled plan of society, if society it can be called, which sets up the opinion, whim, ambition, and selfishness of individuals, against public interest and public welfare; and shew that every community, to attain the perfection of political happiness, must have a power within itself of turning the industry, and calling out the help of every member, to objects of public importance.*

* I understand by law, the security of the members of the community, in life, liberty, and property; by police, the turning, by the influence of punishment or reward, the industry of the individual to public benefit. Were a plough invented, which should enable the farmer to do as much work with one horse, as in common is done with two, can any man say, that the farmer's liberty would be infringed, by obliging him to make use of such a plough, even under a severe penalty. An individual, as such, is not an object of law or police; it is as he is a member helping to compose the community, receiving from, and conferring benefits on it. In this view, every part of his conduct, by which the community may be negatively or positively affected, is an object of public regulation. See it in another light, the individual is put into a state of ease, security, and enjoyment, by the variously directed efforts of thousands and ten thousands of his fellow-citizens; if there be not a power in the community to direct, in return, his industry and conduct, to their benefit and advantage, a power to cut off from the hive such an expensive lazy drone, should at least be supposed.

Though,

Though, from local circumstances, the sugar colonies, of the improvement of which, it was our original design more particularly to treat, have not been able, equally with the northern colonies, to make the paramount power of the British parliament at present a subject of hostile discussion, yet too many in them favour opposition, and wishfully look forward as to a desirable object, to an independency, which they cannot describe, of which they have formed no notion. This has appeared too plain in the conduct of Jamaica and Barbadoes, and in that ill-timed interposition of the West-Indian planters with parliament, for favour to America, when they should all have been employed in taking measures against those barbarous resolutions of the American congress, which aimed at starving them by famine, and against a renewal of that disadvantageous intercourse with America, which has done more hurt to the sugar colonies, than all other causes taken together. The present object, therefore, will not carry us out of our original plan. It, indeed, so intimately respects the general welfare of the empire, as to deserve

to have every possible light cast upon it; for, on the mutual connection and support of the several members, depends the prosperity of the state. There is indeed a pitiful jealousy of the honour and prosperity of Britain, which runs, at present, through all her dependencies, Ireland not excepted; though honour and interest should, at least, make this kingdom consider herself as a British isle; and true policy, whenever she is hearkened to, will complete the incorporation. They know not well what they wish to have, only, that the sovereign state might receive some staggering blow; and they might change their condition for some state, unthought of, and as yet not experienced by them. It requires a generosity of sentiment, not to be found in every breast, to enable a man to look up for the welfare of his own little circle, in the prosperity and grandeur of the head of the empire. Nor is every man sufficiently capable of reflection to discover, that the internal resources, extent, and compactness, of Britain, may enable her to sustain a shock, which shall crumble her distant appendages

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into

into ruin. The man, therefore, who causes the colonists to see their own happiness, in the prosperity of the mother country, has effected a good purpose.

In the discussion of this subject, we shall first treat of supremacy, or that power, which binds the community together, which settles its internal police, watches the conduct of its neighbours, and, when occasion requires, calls forth and exerts the common strength. We shall consider the utility of representation, or the advantage arising from an essential branch of legislature, its being elected from among, and, after certain periods, returning to the mass of the people; and thus becoming bound, as citizens, by the laws, which they have enacted as legislators. We shall consider the state, as possessing a *res publica*, or having a common interest, in the management of which, a power of imposing taxes, and disposing of the revenues arising from them, is, of necessity, included. These considerations will naturally lead us to reflections on the present claims of America, and strictures on the present mode of governing.

verning the colonies. We shall propose a plan, for bringing the system of colonial government to perfection; and shall make no apology for adding indiscriminately such observations as may, from time to time, arise from the subject.

C H A P.

C H A P. I,

Of Supremacy.

IN every independent state, or empire, made up of several separate or distant provinces, each claiming, originally, equal privileges, of necessity there must be supposed a fixed seat of government, and a sovereign superintending legislative authority. Even where the union supposes the several provinces to continue on an equal footing, in order to introduce uniformity and vigour into government, without which the safety and welfare of the whole must continually be brought into danger, the most powerful or the most active, or the most convenient province will be obliged to take the lead, and in many

many cases must assume sovereign authority, to which, expediency, or fear, will procure a ready submission from the other co-estates. This position is found to be so universally true in fact, that even in the confined territories of the United Dutch Provinces, and of the Helvetic body, the province of Holland in the one, and the canton of Berne, in the other, almost universally take the lead, and give their own turn to the deliberations of their respective unions.

It is not necessary to enquire, how this superior influence arises, at first, among equals, nor whether it has been tacitly permitted, or regularly yielded up by the others, or only boldly claimed, and impudently maintained by superior force, or managed by private interest and intrigue. It is sufficient, if there be a necessity for its existence, from whatever original it may spring, and if the union of the several parts of the state depends upon its existence. It was a struggle for this first place in the republic, between the Athenians and Spartans, which laid the foundation of the ruin of ancient Greece. It was the want of a leader among the Etruscan states, which
gave

gave the barbarous Romans a superiority over that free, warlike people *.

The truth of the above maxim is well worth the serious consideration of our fiery American patriots. They should reflect, whether in shaking off their just, I had almost said their moral, dependence on Britain, they had hopes to advance their particular province to the head of the new union; or, if they must act a subordinate part, whether they are more likely to enjoy political happiness under the influence of Britain, placed at a distance from them, and regarding them all equally, or of a neighbouring colony, filled with all the little prejudices of a rival, proud of her priority, anxious to extend her influence, rapacious to seize for her own needy sons, every vacant post, every office of profit. They

* This necessity of a leader, to carry on any common purpose, is apparent in every society, nay in every little club. Nothing is more frequent, even in our cavilling opposition in the lower house, than calling upon the minister of the day for his plan of public business, as a duty incumbent upon, and expected from him. And, indeed, after all that has been said about popular governments, a numerous body is capable only of accepting or rejecting the plans and proposals of one or a few. It cannot possibly begin, nay hardly with propriety reduce into form, any business of consequence; its real capacity is restricted almost to a simple fiat.

would

would do well to consider likewise, whether the province of New England, which already claims precedence, and from her numbers, their poverty and want of employment, seems best calculated to maintain it, has those generous attributes, and that liberality of sentiment, which men would wish to find in their rulers. Too probably, in their anxious haste to dissolve the tie, which has raised them to their present daring, they are forging their own chains, under a set of unfeeling tyrants among themselves, who, under a pretended patriotism of resolution, stifle every sentiment of compassion and humanity; and, who could have pushed themselves into notice, only in times of lawless confusion. Something of this leading management, in the deputies of the northern colonies, has already transpired in the deliberations of that free and august body the Congress, particularly where they propose that the number of delegates, sent from each province to congress, should be in proportion to the population of each *.

Now,

* In Europe, every state has acquired its present compactness, security, and power of exertion, by absorbing

Now, if the idea of a leading province, or paramount power, in some certain degree, must be supposed even in the federal union of otherwise coequal states, how much more essential must it be esteemed, when the state, under consideration, is composed of a mother country, her colonies and conquered provinces, as is the case of Britain, her colonies in America, Ireland, and Canada. A conquered province, as such, must have a dependence on its conqueror, till it be incorporated. Colonies are settled at the expence, by the authority, and under protection of the parent state. In their infancy, they must of necessity be dependent. And can we fix on a period, in their improved condition, when, with propriety they may take the lead, and prescribe for their founders. For we have

forbing all those little appanages and sovereignties, into which, in the feudal times, they were severally divided, and which were constant sources of war and desolation. The friends of America seem to abhor nothing so much as this unity of government, and want to plunge us again into all the inconveniences, jealousies, and horrors of wars, that they may have a field for the exercise of the savage powers of their nature, in every little corner of the state; each in his petty village strutting the leader and sovereign.

laid

laid it down as a maxim, that there must be a sovereign in the empire *.

One hackneyed argument, in favour of our colonies, is, that they were settled without any expence to Britain. This is a most scandalously false assertion; for it is well known, that nearly forty millions have been expended in America, which, whether properly or improperly expended, have been expended, because we had colonies, and believed we had fellow-subjects there. Farther, their own consistent champion † has assured us, that America was con-

* In answer to lord North's conciliatory plan, the congress resolved, "that the colonies of America are entitled to the sole and exclusive privilege of giving and granting their own money, that this involves a right of deliberating, whether they will make any gift, for what purposes it shall be made, (mark, reader, the purpose of a gift, and whether that can be gift which has a purpose) and what shall be its amount." But in their articles of confederacy, the congress is to impose on each of these supreme states, a certain sum, to be raised indeed in their own way, but to be ready by such a day as the Congress shall appoint, under pain, one may suppose, of military execution. Alas, America! thou has foolishly dropped the substance, to snatch at the shadow, of liberty.

† If this man had meant the ruin of his country, from the beginning, he could not have embraced a more effectual line of conduct, than that which has marked every period of his political progress. First, he gained the confidence of his people, by railing against continental

conquered in Germany, which war, we know, cost some sixty millions more. Besides, our merchants have constantly had a capital of five millions, in current accounts, in that country *. But we will for a moment

mental connections. Under this sanction, he plunged the nation ten thousand times deeper into continental measures, than any other minister could have dared to have done. But the people sat down contented with the unmeaning phrase of "America conquered in Germany." If America was conquered, it must be for some local or national purpose; and what more natural consequence, than for the colonies to help to support their own establishment, and assist the mother country, in lessening the immense load of debt contracted on their account. No, says the Champion to his country, "though I have had address enough, to bring you to the brink of bankruptcy in the ambitious quarrel of the colonies, yet shall they not contribute a single penny to save you from ruin. Sink, hated country, that gave me birth, and reposed confidence on me, into the pit my ingratitude has dug for you."

* Much has been said of the honesty of the Americans, in paying off their debts, in this country, even after all other correspondence was broken off with them. The following is the fact respecting Glasgow: As soon as the present disputes became alarming, but before the Americans had taken a decided part, the Glasgow clerks and agents in America set themselves heartily to collect in their debts, and wind up their affairs; and by accepting tobacco, giving every possible indulgence, and using some finesse, they did recover some considerable share of the sums due. At this time, the Americans were eager to provide against non-importation, and bartered all their tobacco, at an easy price, for other goods,

ment allow the fact, and suppose that only rich men, pure votaries of liberty and religion, settled in America, and that their society was never contaminated with a fraudulent bankrupt, an idle indented servant, or worthless pickpocket. Without a power in the state, to keep within her own allegiance both the persons and fortunes of her members, no regulation would be binding, no community could long exist. For though states suffer that restlessness of temper, which causes subjects to change their allegiance and their abode, to pass unnoticed, while the custom brings in perhaps as many, and as useful subjects as it cuts off; yet would they exert that power, which is inherent in every community, for its own preservation, to prevent such an emigration of persons or property, as threatened hurt or ruin to the commonwealth. If an Englishman settles

goods, with the Glasgow factors. The tobacco, selling for an immense price in Europe, was the circumstance that saved Glasgow; but little less than a million remains yet due, from America, to that city. In contradiction to the threats and hopes of opposition, that the trade of that place would be ruined, by the stop put to its intercourse with America, the dealers in nails and saddles are the only people there, that have suffered sensibly by it.

in

in France, perhaps two Frenchmen come over and settle in England. But though a wild and savage country, like America, may return us some of our own disappointed visionaries, she can make no exchange of inhabitants, she will be a constant impoverishing drain of men and money. Government then, in suffering yearly such numbers to emigrate to America, did not give up a claim either to their persons or their properties. It sent, or permitted them to go out, to improve their own circumstances, extend the limits, and increase the wealth of the empire. But what need of any proof against these pretendedly self-created lords and owners of America, besides the enormous bounties they receive, their monopoly in many articles of British consumption, and almost universal participation of the British trade, either pirated or allowed: or, can an individual grow up to the exercise of his rational powers, and his country not acquire an indissoluble claim over him.

But as we shall have frequent occasion to appeal to this subordination of the colonies, we will here attempt an enumeration of the several advantages, which they have drawn

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from

from their connection with Great Britain, and which still farther establishes the claim of the mother-country to the sovereignty of them. 1. An absurd monopoly, of the market of Great Britain, and her sugar-colonies, for many articles that might be gotten at an easier rate from foreigners, or be produced in our own lands, particularly of lumber, rice, tobacco, indigo, hemp, &c. 2. Immense bounties, not only paid them for articles of their own growth, but also for the like articles smuggled in from foreigners; of which, let French indigo stand as an example: taxes, to pay these bounties, are raised on the pinched manufacturer and farmer of Britain, while they themselves disdain to contribute the smallest share. 3. The various fisheries of the North seas and vast Atlantic, vindicated for them by the blood and treasure of Britain, and protected by her fleets *. 4. A trade with each other (except a nominal prohibition of hats, and a few other articles,) and with our conquered province Canada; the Pensylvanians particularly importing

* It is a fact well known, that our fishing towns have gradually gone to decay, as the fisheries of the northern provinces have increased.

from Quebec vast quantities of wheat, which they manufacture into flour, bread, and starch, and sell to Britain, her sugar-colonies, and foreigners. 5. Almost a monopoly of the West-Indian trade, not only for lumber, but many utensils and plantation stores, and even provisions, which, more easily and cheaply, might be procured from Britain, and, with little additional expence, be transported in our sugar ships, which often sail to the West-Indies in ballast, if the British farmer had the supplying of the market secured to him so as to induce him to allot more land to the culture of grain. 6. A trade with the Spanish main in America, which makes a little circle between them and the Dutch, and from which Britain reaps no profit, though the vindication of it, for the grateful Americans, cost her some fifty millions in the war of 1739. 7. An almost open trade with the French sugar-colonies, for sugar, molasses, and other French commodities, and every article of luxury, not only in exchange for their own lumber and provisions, but for all the money they can drain from our own sugar-colonies, while they, in these, refuse to take a single

article in exchange for their goods; but insist on having money returned for the whole, except, at times, which suit them, a proportion of rum at their own price *. 8. A like trade with the Dutch and Danish colonies, carried on with money drained from our sugar-colonies, in every species of European and East-Indian goods. 9. A smuggling trade carried on by their whalers and other adventurers, with the several homeward East-India-men, at Ascension

* Take the method of carrying on this trade at Cape Nichola Mole in Hispaniola. An American vessel, and you may see seventy together in the harbour, sells all her cargo there to a small part. With this part, and indigo, coffee, silk, and other French commodities, received in payment of what she has sold, she runs down to Jamaica, enters there at the custom-house, as if immediately from America, lands her coffee and indigo, which immediately become British produce, and sells her other traffic, gets money in return, clears out for America, as if loaded with Jamaica produce, returns to Hispaniola, lays out the money for French produce and other goods, and proceeds to America with her Jamaica clearance, of which however she makes no use, unless detected in smuggling. Generally the vessel makes three such trips in a year; and the master thinks it an ill voyage, in which he clears not upwards of 200 l. sterling, on his own private venture. — The author has been assured by an American concerned in the trade, that America traded at Point Petre Goudaloupe for 30,000 l. sterling per annum, besides the several American commodities allowed to be imported there.

Islands,

Islands, and sometimes as far as the limits of the East-Indies *. 10. A kind of free trade to a very great extent to Sweden for tea; to Madeira, the Canaries, up the Mediterranean, to Spain, Portugal, France, for every article which the several countries furnish, in return for their fish and grain. 11. A monopoly of the introduction, into our sugar-colonies, of Portugal gold, sweated in Philadelphia †, to buy bills on London, and to be drawn away again, by others, to carry to the French, Dutch, and Danish colonies. 12. A privilege of supplying themselves, when it suits their conveniency, with sugar and rum, in our own islands, without paying any other duty than the king's private duty of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

* Some years ago, one of their smugglers made a considerable purchase of goods at Ascension Island, and gave the captain bills upon some feigned correspondent in London. The bills were protested and sent out to America to be recovered. The agent, whom the captain employed, was desired to advise his constituent to sit down quietly with the loss; otherwise, they would inform the Directors of his smuggling goods at Ascension.

† It is not an uncommon thing, to send pieces of gold to the West-Indies, mulcted of a fifth part of their weight. There their agents procure heavy pieces to send to America, in exchange for light pieces brought thence.

13. An immense trade to Africa, carried on by the medium of rum, made from French molasses. 4. A privilege of taxing, under the name of foreign duty, the West-Indian and British trader, that comes among them; this in Boston amounted, in rum not consigned to a townsman, to about $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. 15. A monopoly of smuggling in every branch, and every article of trade, and a claim of evading every duty or custom laid on for the regulation of trade *. 16. A considerable share of the sugar-carrying trade from our islands, purloined from the British ships †. 17. Internal peace purchased for them by Britain, with expensive yearly presents made to the Indians. 18. An unburthened, untaxed share in every gainful branch of the British trade. 19. The full rights of denizens of

* In a conversation on the subject, it was shrewdly asked by one well acquainted with America, whether any in company had heard of an act of an American Assembly against smuggling. Nay, when that Machiavelian scheme of shutting up the ports was first in agitation, the smugglers publicly claimed an exemption; because, said they, our trade contradicts the laws of the mother country.

† This is so gainful, that a small vessel can afford to give a premium of an hundred guineas to a merchant, who has interest to procure a lading for her.

Great

Great Britain, whenever they please to sojourn or settle there. 20. The sovereignty of America purchased for them by Britain, at the moderate expence of an hundred millions.

These are tolerably strong ties, and one may think, that they were not over-rated, when supposed capable of balancing a duty of three-pence per pound, on, perhaps a tenth part of the tea imported into America *. We may also from hence see, what little trade is left for Britain to carry on with America, that this last can carry on as advantageously with any foreign state. Nor will the man who allows due weight to the foregoing considerations, place an entire credit in Glover's bloated account of the importance of the American trade, as laid before the House of Commons. And this will appear more plainly, when we have considered, that Britain, by the real demand which she has for the staple commodities of America, and the monopoly of her market, which, perhaps, she has absurdly granted to it, and the superior price, which, from her opulence, she is

* The quantity of tea smuggled in from St. Eustatius alone is immense.

able to afford, in almost all the articles, in which America trades with her, is the largest and best market, to which the Americans can fail. And we may conclude, that the monopoly of the British market is more profitable to America, than all the advantages are to Britain, which she reaps from the commerce *. Therefore, when mention is made of the importance of the American trade, let the utility of the British trade to America be also taken into account. Thus shall we be able to explain that boast of America, with which our ears are dinned, when she wants to look big, that though, in number, not a fifth part of the empire; yet her share of its trade is full a third.

If we take into account, that the British merchants have constantly out, in American debts, full five millions, we shall be apt to consider America as little more than

* This appears clearly from the little effect, which the total stop put to the American trade, has had on the commerce of Great Britain. Nor can there be a doubt entertained, that the burdens occasioned to Britain by her connection with America exceeded, by many degrees, the advantage of her trade, if indeed the trade itself, by means of bounties, drawbacks, and monopoly, were not also a burden.

the agent of Britain in commerce, with this unlucky peculiarity, that the agent appropriates all the credit and profits of the commerce, and leaves all the expence, both ordinary and extraordinary of the business, to be borne by the employer. And we may most safely affirm, that a less extent of foreign trade, wherein no, or only short, credit is given, would be much more advantageous to Britain, than a commerce thus clogged with precarious debts and long credit.—We shall here observe, in opposition to the complaints made of British oppression, that every man acquainted with the American trade, at the time when these troubles began, will acknowledge, that “the restrictions, laid on it by parliament, were merely nominal; that it was impossible for America to have extended her trade, without increasing her capital, or producing new staple commodities; that every industrious American was fully employed, every branch of commerce occupied, every trading port, foreign and domestic, filled with their ships, every town thriving, wealth flowing in, grandeur increasing with hasty strides, taxes

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unknown, imposts evaded *;" while Britain unsupported, unassisted, by this ungrateful

* The expressions comprehended under the " " were almost literally used to the author, by a man intimately acquainted with the trade and circumstances of America, and attached by interest to their cause. Yet there are men, who favour the Americans, as supposing them a virtuous, injured people. That they are an injured or oppressed people, their sudden rise, universal prosperity, and extensive commerce, flatly contradict. If they be a virtuous people, it would be right to shew what grounds their friends have for ascribing virtue to them. Ignorance in the country, and universal smuggling in the towns, must keep them from attaining any high degree of virtue, nay, even taint their minds with every thing that is tricking and base. That America contains men of honour and candour I readily admit; but who will affirm such to be the active or ostensible men at present. I have made every possible enquiry, of all whom I have met with, who have travelled that country; and I think I may say, with hardly a single exception, that, speaking generally of those who put themselves forward in the present dispute, they have described them as a cruel, selfish, tricking, ungenerous, hypocritical set; and I venture to affirm, that those among them, who answer a different description, will generally be found to be friends of peace, order, and Great Britain. In the northern colonies, the basis of their education is smuggling, conceit, and a hypocritical pretension to purity in religion, and an inbred abhorrence of the laws and constitution of Britain. Whatever is open, manly, or generous, is by no means the common practice. In the southern colonies, the opportunities of country education are few, and of little account. If sent to England, they are consigned to a merchant, by him left to the common school forms, perhaps

ful pampered darling, staggered ready to fall under blows received, and burdens contracted, in the cause, and for the security, of America. We will now assume, as a thing fully proved, the subordination of America to Britain, and of consequence, a right in the British government to exercise every act of sovereignty, in these provinces in particular.

When a people, or province, have once acknowledged, or imposed on itself, a sovereign, it has, by that act, agreed to submit to his injunctions. The whole stream of history is in favour of this position. The Greeks distinguished not between a king and a tyrant. Samuel, speaking of the power and office of a king, never suggests

perhaps they take their polish in our inns of court, their own sage tutors and directors. Whence, I pray, can come that reverence for parents, that strictness of manners, that regard for mankind, which should mark the patriot: either not educated at all; or, as in the southern colonies, brought up in the exercise of the most ignorant, capricious tyranny over the slaves; or, in laying the foundations of tricking, selfishness, and hypocrisy, in the north; or brought up in the worst and most abandoned manner of (according them) that sink of low vice and infamous corruption, Britain. If virtue be a prevailing feature in the character of such Americans, they must thank heaven for a good natural disposition, not their masters or their education, for the possession.

to the Israelites, then met to chuse one, the precaution of limiting his authority, but describes him, as of necessity, an arbitrary tyrant. This idea of uncontrollable power in the sovereign, and the sovereignty being usually lodged in a single person, has led our own writers in favour of kingly government, to ascribe that power to the king, which with us is lodged only with king and parliament. And though this discretionary power exists, and must ever be lodged, where it is, yet we are as well secured against the bad effects as human affairs are capable of being. An essential part of the legislature, as we shall hereafter consider, is temporary, and chosen from among the people. Whatever laws they enact, to affect the rights of the people, must include themselves. Their obedience, as citizens, is determined by their resolutions as legislators. And, though the case of America, by its not possessing an immediate share in the legislature, may seem to differ from this, yet the connections of commerce are so strong, America, by reason of its debt to Britain, being, properly speaking, only its agent, and it is so impossible to injure America by improper tax-

taxation, without hurting Britain and themselves, that it differs more in appearance than reality; and even this seeming difference is easily taken away, by allowing them a representation, if indeed they would accept of it *.

In general, we will affirm, that this sovereign power, for which we contend, to answer the purposes of universal protection, improvement and safety, must be irresistible and without controul, in every corner of the empire; that the privileges of each particular province must be subordinate to the interest of the whole; and that this sovereign power must, of necessity, be judge of the justice and propriety of every particular claim. The possible abuse of this power takes not from the necessity of its existence.—To suppose a number of distinct

* It is a just observation made by Dr. Roebuck, concerning the taxation of America by Parliament.—The present group of patriots, who oppose this taxation, in a proportion, which they allow to be reasonable, will not, in themselves, pretend to any extraordinary attainments in virtue or public spirit, nor can they say, they are afraid, that that species of patriotism, in which they deal, is likely to be extinguished with them. If such a powerful loud party can be raised in Britain, against a reasonable and low taxation, what clamour and opposition would arise, against the smallest attempt to impose an immoderate heavy tax on America?

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provinces, which all, taken together, make one whole, having one united interest, claiming each for itself, without appeal, privileges and exemptions, which interfere with each other, and are destructive of the common good, may sound well in a declamation, but will be found to be pernicious to every degree of police, and the very bane of liberty, that object of sentiment, so much applauded, and often so little understood, by many of those, who have the word most frequently in their mouths; yet having made this concession, in favour of authority, we must add, that circumspective prudence and equal justice should ever guide the reins.

Where there is a natural or acquired superiority, as exists in Britain over her foreign possessions, the subordinate provinces may be considered in three different points of management.—First, as inferior appendages, through want of power to resist, obliged to submit to all the impositions of their sovereign, who prescribes himself no other rule, than his own sentiment, or sense of propriety, and interest, in governing and taxing them. To this particular mode of management, may be referred

referred some of the late regulations respecting Canada, and the many restrictive acts which bind Ireland.

Secondly, they may be considered each, as companies, or societies of fellow-citizens, employed in raising particular staple commodities for the market of the parent state, and, as thus usefully employed, favoured in every thing, which respects their proper staple, and, as having a subordinate interest only, restricted in whatever may interfere with the staple of the other provinces, or the trade of the protecting state. In this point of view may the sugar and tobacco-colonies be considered. They are both encouraged by confining the consumption of these articles in the empire to their productions; and the sugar-colonies are, and even Britain is, restrained in favour of the tobacco-colonies, by being forbidden to meddle with the culture of tobacco to their prejudice. Both are restricted by having their immediate trade confined within the empire.

Thirdly, the head of the empire may communicate its privileges, and legislative powers to any of or all the other provinces, by incorporating them with itself, and giving them

them the full rights of citizens. Even in this case, the seat of government, and weight of legislative power, at least in respect of each separate incorporated province, must still be considered as continuing with the parent country; the other provinces being sufficiently secured, in an equal treatment, by the abolition of all partial distinctions, privileges, and hardships, by the universal and undistinguishing operation and extension of all privileges on the one hand, of all imposts and burdens on the other, particularly, by the general tenour, expression and comprehension, of all statutes, impositions or taxes; so that they bind the legislative body equally with the people. To this point may be referred the incorporation of Scotland by the union.

I shall observe here, that whenever subordinate provinces shew a reluctance to an incorporation with the sovereign state, which is the highest privilege that can be conferred upon them, it is a shrewd sign, that, in their state of subordination, they enjoy, or think they enjoy, exemptions and privileges, incompatible with the general good. This we may suppose to have
been

been formerly the case of the Isle of Man. Ireland shews a reluctance to an incorporation, from an apprehension of the British taxes, without considering that while she refuses this equal communication of privileges, she vindicates Britain for restraining her, in that exertion of her natural advantages, which must turn to the hurt of that particular country, which has the weight of protection to support. America has ever spurned at the thoughts of incorporation, on pretence indeed of its impracticability; but really, because it already enjoyed, as we have fairly made out, in the state of its trade, all the advantages of incorporation, while the whole burden of protection was confined to Britain. We have mentioned the sovereign, and the sovereign or parent state, indiscriminately, because the one can only have power and influence through the other.

C H A P. II.

Of Representation.

IT is a hacknied argument with the internal enemies of the present constitution of Great Britain, that, to enjoy liberty, every man must have his share, either by himself or his agent, in his own government. Yet this principle, carried its full length, is both absurd and impracticable. The extent, ambition, and strength of surrounding states, render it necessary for every independent society to be in greatness and power of exertion in proportion to its neighbours, to enable it to defend itself against foreign attacks. The numbers necessary for securing this purpose, and the various ages and different sexes, of which a community is composed, make a general assembly of citizens, or even a general election of representatives, absolutely impracticable. And were it practicable to have a government of invalids, dotards, minors, and women, or, even of only all the men in the vigour of life; and yet, on this scheme, what individual

vidual man has a right to think for another, liberty would gain little by the regulation. Neither is the immediate government of the Many desirable; nor their discerning faculties, to chuse their governors, sufficiently acute. They must, they will, be guided by a few, or one, excelling them in cunning and design. Now, wheresoever a mob considers itself as ruler or distributor of law and justice, it is capable of every act of extravagance and oppression, at the suggestion of any ambitious demagogue; and neither law, custom, or humanity, will be heard in favour of the unhappy object of prejudice and violence. If the Few, or one, must then, and do, in fact, govern; is it not better to have them, or him, tied down by law, and accountable to the constitution for their conduct, than suffer them to keep behind the curtain, and play off the mob, against each other, to their mutual destruction, and the advancement of their own ambition*.

If

* A gentleman, writing lately from America to his friend, observes, that they are not now the demagogues, but the mob, and particularly the women, who keep

If it be objected, that, where all are naturally equal, this supposes an arbitrary distinction

up the spirit of rebellion there; persecuting every obnoxious person, that is, every sober person, changing weekly their governors and committee-men, at their pleasure, and forcing them to become the instruments of their vengeance. This is the natural progress of such things. A disappointed or an ambitious man raises a cry against government, in hopes of finding his account or his advancement in the struggle; he appeals to the mob, they are roused, become the engines of his malice, and bear down opposition with numbers and violence. They begin soon to feel their own weight, and draw after them the very men who vainly hoped to guide and direct their violence to their own particular purposes. In short, the man who stirs up strife among a people, is as if a Lapland conjurer should be carried away in the storm which he has raised, or, as if he, who had broken down a mound, were hurried, by the resistless stream which it confined, amidst sharp pointed rocks, unable to help or help or save himself from being dashed in pieces.

Much has been said of the constancy of the Americans, in continuing to suffer patiently all the horrors of war, rather than return to their dependence on Britain. We are entirely unacquainted with the real state of the country; because those appearances of unanimity, which are so much celebrated, are so hemmed in, and guarded by the same oppressive measures, which originally produced them, that little can be collected from them, in favour of the cause. With respect to the disinterestedness of the leading men, in risking their lives and fortunes in the quarrel, we shall only answer, that we have thousands, who lose rank, health, fortune, life, and character, in the pursuit of some temporary distinction, of gaming, amusement, debauchery, in their attachment to equipage, horses, dogs, dice, and bad women; and

distinction of a people into governors and governed, I answer, it is indeed true, and on due discussion will be found unavoidable. Security in life, liberty, and property, is the undoubted right of the meanest member of the state; but all cannot share in the legislation; all cannot possess particular honours and emoluments. There must be an arbitrary discrimination of the members, some to govern, others to be governed. Even could we suppose an acknowledged perfect equality, among all the members of the state, we must feign a distinction for the regulation and management of society. The seven nobles of Persia were all on a footing of equality till the neighing of his horse invested an individual among them with sovereign power over his fellows, and over the empire. The Israelites were all equally honourable, when Saul was chosen king by his stature. In Britain, property, under a certain description, and family-descent, give a claim to honours and authority. In China, learning paves

and shall we think much, if a few be found, who run the same hazard for the allurements of a name, and with the hopes of being handed down in history as great men, patriots, and founders of empires?

the way to power; and if integrity and prudence always accompanied learning, this would, no doubt, be an excellent mark for establishing a claim to authority.

If such be the case, how then are the purposes of liberty to be secured to a people?—By making the interest of the governors and governed inseparable.—And this is done by calling out, for a certain period, from the mass of the people, an essential part or branch of the legislature, to be again mixed with their fellow-citizens, to conform as private persons to the laws, and bear the impositions, which, in the character of legislators, they enacted or imposed.—It is essential to freedom, that representatives, chosen freely from the bulk of the people, should be a necessary branch of the legislature, and that the legislative body should, equally with the people, be subject to the laws, which they themselves enact, and that known promulgated laws alone should be binding on the people. As representation, besides this intimate assimilation of interest, which we affirm to be its chief purpose, has also in view the bringing of the collective sense of the community into one point, it ought,
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no doubt, to be as equal as possible ; but perfect equality, or complete representation, in a large empire, is neither necessary or attainable ; nor indeed is great nicety required in assigning the proportion, which each district should hold in the legislature. — That part of the people, which, by the forms of the constitution, is entrusted with the privilege of electing this necessary part of the legislature, may, consistently with freedom, vary in different states, and even in the same, according to circumstances. Among the Romans, the censors assigned to each man his political rank, and the city tribes generally acted for the empire. Among the citizens themselves, sometimes property in the centuries, sometimes numbers in the tribes, gave the decision. In the best times of Athens, property regulated the rank of citizens. In Britain, a few freeholders, citizens, and burghers, answering a certain description, elect representatives, who, with the heads of a few families chosen by the crown, have been till now in the uninterrupted exercise of the power of enacting laws, to bind themselves and the whole empire. And such is the general reflected influence of com-

merce, and universal operation of that principle, that they bind themselves equally with the lowest and most distant member of the state, that this confined privilege of election, and this partial representation, have tolerably well answered all the purposes of legislation and freedom among the people. Here, then, we have a natural connection between a temporary representation and freedom. It is not necessary that all should elect, for that, in a large empire, in every respect is impossible; but that the empire be under one law, and the electors and the elected be equally with the people subject, and subject only, to the laws.

Camden's assertion, that "every blade of grass in the kingdom is represented," is as curious a figure in rhetoric, as ever found utterance in polite assembly; but let us suppose it just. It will be allowed, that the representative of this blade of grass was chosen without the consent of that which he represents, and that his involuntary constituent (nonsense is unavoidable in exposing absurdity) grass must, as a part of the empire, be passive under every regulation respecting it, which has the sanction
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of the representative body. In what light then is this blade of grass represented, but as being a part of the empire, and parliament, or the representative body, being a representation of the empire; by the received practice of the constitution. If therefore, there be any part of the empire, which, from some local disability, cannot, or, from the practice of the constitution, is not permitted to have a voice in electing the representative body, we must come to some certain order, or some artificial arbitrary rank, among the people, which has appropriated to itself the privilege of electing representatives, not to act for, and bind; itself only, but the whole empire, not only those who opposed the election, but also those, who could not have, and were forbidden to give a voice in the election.

Here then we have the very case of America. It is a part of the state, but it has no voice in chusing representatives, nor do any sit in parliament, holding their right from it. Must parliament then suspend its authority over America, for this want of representation? Must America oppose the power of parliament, because not re-
pre-

presented by name in it. Parliament is not thus at liberty to trifle with the exercise of that authority, with which, for the good of the whole, it has been entrusted; nor do the social ties, and the duty arising from protection received, leave America thus at liberty to explain away its subordination. With the same justice might every individual in Britain, who has no vote, and every voter, who found himself, at the close of the poll, in the minority, refuse obedience to the legislature. While parliament, by the forms of the constitution, is entrusted with the sovereign power of the state, while America makes a part of it, parliament has a power of binding America in every object of legislation.

Farther, the commons forbid peers to meddle in the election of representatives; and, in the house of lords, except in the case of the Scotch peerage, a peer does not represent another; but if we may be allowed the expression, he represents himself. A nobleman during his minority, a peeress in her own right, during her whole life, cannot, then, in any sense, be said to be represented, or have a vote. They sit not in the house of lords, they cannot be supposed

posed to be represented in the other house, in the election of which their order is forbidden to take any part.—What remedy then have they against the tyranny of parliament.—Only that parliament, being a representation of the whole empire, and binding itself equally with the mass of the people, these unrepresented persons have the same security as those who elect, or those who sit in parliament. But — enough of this language of futility.

From the remark, that the foundation of liberty consists in the universal influence of law, appears the justice of that assertion, that nicety is not necessary in assigning to each district its proportion in the legislature. Could a single man be found, of knowledge and integrity sufficient for the purpose, he might be safely left to chuse, out of the mass of the people, a competent number of men, having a common interest with the people, to make laws, and impose taxes on the whole empire. It is this common interest, this common tie between parliament and people, that constitutes the security of the whole, not the quality, not the numbers of the electors. And however desirable it might be otherwise, it would

would be a matter of difficult execution to deprive of their right places, which have long possessed the privilege of electing representatives. Nothing indeed should do it, but a conviction of having made an improper use of it, either in selling their votes, or chusing unfit persons. Accordingly, the people of Middlesex forfeited their right of electing a certain part of the representative body, when they chose a profligate, blaspheming bankrupt *; the other case needs not be
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* Much has this man been celebrated for his opposition to general warrants. These were an engine of state, perhaps hardly played off improperly once in a reign, and seldom against a worthy member of the community. And rating the advantage at its highest value, it is a small benefit to put in the balance against that mean, pitiful, narrow-minded jealousy, which in the acquisition of it, he raised in one part of the kingdom against the other. But before any extraordinary merit is allowed to him, I would fain know from his friends, in what easier way, after ministry deemed him too contemptible to gain over to their party, he could have contrived, to have revelled nine or ten years in luxury, and wallowed in claret, burgundy, and champagne, elegant purposes, which nobody now doubts were at the bottom of his patriotism.—He was sufficiently acquainted with the constitution of his country, just to enable him to skim, from opposition and fools, the cream of treason, without plunging into its inextricable abyss; and had he in himself been deficient, there were Glynn and Hornes enough to teach him, how far he might, with safety, dare to insult his
country.

mentioned, it happens every day.— But if every place, not represented, were allowed to elect in the usual proportion, the representative body must become too numerous, and either degenerate into a mob, headed by two or three ambitious demagogues, or, in this age of luxury, being disjointed, and selfish, would require too much public money, under the mask of opposition, to induce them to do the public business. For the wages, formerly paid to representatives by their constituents, are now assigned in places and pensions, upon the public treasury. This is not the age for a man to serve his country freely. And, in the present state of the representative body, and with the present numbers of which it

country. Now that the robe of patriotism has lost its gloss, and is become too scanty to conceal the—— he has left himself nothing better to attempt, than to dizen himself out anew with a mountebank's garb, and by empiricism make another attempt on the pockets of the corporation. He is blessed with peculiar traits for shining in this character; I doubt not of its being the sphere for which nature intended him. The legislator, who could circulate a begging subscription for a book not in existence, can surely puff off and vend a quack pill. If such observations be esteemed too ludicrous for a serious composition, let those answer to the censure, whose countenance has made such a character an object of history.

consists,

consists, patriotism or opposition is an heavy tax upon the people*. For that our noisy changeable opposition have, in general, no other view than private emolument, in clogging the wheels of government and legislation, appears most evidently in their entering, without a single exception, into all, even the most unpopular measures of government, as soon as they get severally into place. Is there a measure of government, that Chatham has not reprobated, and been responsible for, that Grafton has not directed and opposed, that Camden, lawyer-like, has not spoken for and against. Whenever a man exclaims against places and pensions, he should vent part of his spleen against that patriotism, which renders them necessary. —It is a bold thought; but the extirpation

* I take this of the corruption of parliament in the common estimation; but I would not be understood, as supposing that we were without men of independent spirit in the legislature; they are probably more numerous there than is generally imagined. But the present opinion is, that administration must constantly have a determined majority, and in ascertaining that majority, it does not chuse to depend on the virtue or good sense, but on the interest of the members; and I believe, that many a man is attached to administration by promises and places to himself or his friends, for voting agreeably to his own unbiassed sense of things.

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of patriotism will be the first step towards reformation in the state.

The whigs, as a party, pretend to patronize the rights of the people, and mouthe the word *patriotism*, as if they only had a right to use it. But what party has sent out so many pseudo-patriots, whose service or silence was to be bought by places and pensions, without number and beyond estimation. Who, besides them, have patronized the several inroads, that since the Revolution have been made on the constitution, in forms of taxes, riot acts, and bills of attainder. In place, they never have scrupled to sacrifice the constitution to the narrow temporary views of their party; out of place, they are for undoing all they had done before, and attempt it in so turbulent a manner, and so much like bad subjects, that their adversaries are obliged to grasp hard the accursed weapons, which they have put into their hands. Under pretence of securing the present protestant succession, but really with the hopes of keeping the reigning family under their tutelage, and so holding their enemies at their mercy, the riot act and septennial bill passed by whig influence. And the
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first of the family accordingly was made, in their hands, such an instrument of cruelty, oppression, and unequal rule, as to have it said of him, that he was not king of Britain, but of the Whigs.—Farther, they affirmed, that the succession would never be secure, till the nation was dipped a certain confounded degree in debt.—With the impudence of the strumpet in the Proverbs, they now exclaim against these very clogs, which their party has fixed upon the country, as if they never had originated with them; and because we have got a king who is ambitious of being at the head of his people, they care not much if he was sent packing with the rest of their grievances. Septennial parliaments, in particular, are now as necessary to enable government to provide for the insatiable thirst of the whigs after places and pensions, and to check the mobbish spirit which they have raised, as they were at first to guard against the plots of the Jacobites *.—That government was instituted

* It is painful to a generous mind to oppose a sentiment, that but pretends to favour liberty. Yet let the sincerest friend of his country sit down seriously, and reckon

tuted for the good of the people is a maxim, which I hold equally sacred with the purest Whig; and for which, while he contented himself with bawling, I would fight.— But I must forget what history relates, not to abhor their contracted, intriguing, per-

reckon over the certain consequences of annual parliaments, in this age. Respecting foreign affairs, an instability of government, respecting police, irresolution, till the pulse of the house be felt. An ignorance of public business; the session consumed in wrangling about forms and elections; bribery, at the expence of the people, extended, and annually renewed, among a yearly new set of candidates for corruption, (the old having retired with the spoils of their country) to procure a majority of selfish men to do the public business. The best and most capable candidates, tired out with the annual capriciousness and corruption of their electors, withdrawing themselves from public business, and leaving the field to the most corrupt and worthless among their competitors. Parliament, instead of having a character of its own, and acting with a conscious dignity, betraying its fear of a new election, against a better judgment directed by popular clamour, influenced by Grub-street starvelings, or the more dangerous secret enemies of the state, with their cabalistic words of Whig, Liberty, People.

To the further chagrin of the fine-spun notions of liberty, we might here remark, that one of the most decent, independent, and reputable assemblies in the West-Indies, is that of Antigua, which, in opposition to the others, that are generally annual, continues during the reign of the monarch, unless the governor dissolve it sooner. The police of that island greatly excels most of their neighbours, and it looks much more like a polished society.

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secuting spirit, or forgive their encroachments on the constitution, and the cruel necessity, which their conduct imposes on government, to continue them on the nation.

In principle, I profess myself a whig, and I am not such a blind admirer of present things, as not to observe many defects in the constitution. But I am for improving, not destroying it; for keeping what we have already got, and trying to polish it more; not for throwing all down, and trusting to, something worse than chance, present prevailing profligacy for a nobler structure. And many of these wished-for improvements would, I think, consist in correcting back those abuses, which the whigs, for their party-purposes, have introduced into the system. Modern whigism to one, who understands it, is a term of reproach and contempt. Every profligate bankrupt, every disappointed, would-be statesman, every debauched libertine in morality, every atheist in religion, every founder of a new sect, every enemy to the established religion of his country, every blockhead, who cannot succeed in the common course of his profession,
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every turbulent fellow, who cannot fall lower, and hopes to advance himself on the ruin of his country, runs into the party, as kennel-water into the common sewer.

The history of opposition, and its places and pensions, since the Revolution, would be a curious work; to set down the speech of a noisy patriot, his humble acceptance of a pension or place, and his placid drudgery in earning his wages. I have a more real esteem for a man, who professes himself a general friend of administration, without pretending to hold any particular political principles, than for the most desperate patriot, who ever solicited or accepted a place, and then promoted measures that he had pretended to condemn, till the day on which administration came up to his price.—This we shall consider as a sufficient vindication of the present seeming incomplete representation of the empire, and as a much deserved censure of the present infamous pretended patriots, who, hoping to gain a name among the enemies of their country, have encouraged the present unnatural resistance in America; and made their country contend, not for

reputation or power, but for independency, for existence *.

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* What consummate effrontery must the Rockingham party at present exhibit, while weakening the hands of government to carry on measures, which perhaps were not necessary, till they themselves had procured a parliamentary sanction to them? How can they free themselves from the charge of originally betraying their country, either through villany or weakness? How vindicate themselves at present, for their obstinate perseverance to maintain and oppose the self-same measure.

The friends of America think they sufficiently vindicate their treason, in wishing the ruin of their country, by saying administration and ministers are corrupt, and that it is better to live under the most arbitrary government, than in a country which pretends to be free, while those who manage affairs are capable of corrupt practices. For when asked, if they have suffered by the corruption of their governors, they readily answer, "no; but if it may happen, it is the same as if already past. The fate of a country in such a situation, deserves not to be accompanied with a sigh; let it fall under the rising genius of America." Was America that constellation of virtuous heroes, which it is falsely supposed to be; were the purposes of society better secured there than in Britain; even was it a necessary consequence of the usual progress of human affairs, that such purposes would in time be better secured, something might be suggested in excuse for a treason, that aims at the dishonour and ruin of their country. But surely, viewed in the most malicious light, Britain is a country of perfect virtue and liberty, compared with the present or probable state of America. The basis of Britain's constitution is laid in religion, liberty, and law, and, notwithstanding all the cavilling of opposition, is insensibly improving towards perfection; while that of America is laid

In conformity with the reasoning above,
it has been well observed, that our Ame-
rican

laid in profligacy, Atheism, ingratitude, and oppression; and must naturally end in absolute tyranny, or that worst of governments, a contemptible oppressive oligarchy. And will any man burn down a stately Gothic palace, because he cannot reduce all its parts under certain rules of architecture, to live in a dirty hovel that stands in a swamp before it? Must I, because I cannot immediately model government to my mind, and yet I but fancy, and do not feel, its imperfections, must I turn myself out of society, nay draw down the lofty pillars of law on which it is erected, to herd without compact, with lawless mobs, robbers, assassins, smugglers, and out-laws? That our constitution may be improved, none is so hardy as to deny; that it is, such as it is, in a thousand degrees preferable to our new-fangled American forms, is not even disputed; nor that it must be long before the citizen there, if he ever, can acquire the like security. Why then, must I, in favour of such mishapen monsters of governments, destroy that which is already the boast of human discretion, in hopes that a set of atheistical profligate bankrupts (for such I affirm the leading men in congress to be) shall erect a nobler fabric?—Suppose a perfect constitution denoted by 100. If the present, or probable constitution of America be equal to 10, then in the same proportion is the constitution of Britain equal to 60. Because I cannot attain the perfection of 100, shall I give up that of 60, which is gradually advancing to it, to grasp at that of 10, which is insensibly diminishing towards nothing? If their sentiment be so very nice, that they cannot favour their country, because of her imperfections; for the sake of decency, let them not take the part of ten times greater profligates against her. If your father, in a fit of passion or drunkenness, had struck a notorious villain, in the act of picking his pocket,

rican colonies are a part of that community, of which the British parliament is the acknowledged sovereign or head; that the colonists, when they arrive in Britain, enjoy all the local privileges, which are affixed, as much by necessity as origination, to the mother-country. They are denizens, may purchase lands, elect representatives, and be representatives themselves, in the supreme legislature. In pursuit of their own private interest, they emigrate, and of necessity these privileges, annexed to their abode in Britain, are suspended, till they, or their posterity, return to claim them, in that place where only they can be enjoyed. If during an election for representatives in a particular county, an elector goes into another county, either on business or pleasure, he as effectually

pocket, would you suffer him to be murdered by such an one, because in your opinion he had acted too hastily, and should only have called the watch to secure the thief? But the author would recommend to these men of sentiment, to make a visit to these saints, heroes, philosophers, and patriots of America, and after only three months attentive study of them, they shall prescribe to him, what he is to believe concerning them. Several have gone to America, cursing the British arms out of their love of liberty, and have come back, drinking confusion to Washington, out of their hatred of villainy and oppression.

suspends

suspends his right of election, as if he had crossed the Atlantic in a voyage to Boston. But is the public business to be also suspended, is the house of commons to be declared illegal, and the man to refuse obedience to the laws which it may enact, or payment of the taxes which it may impose, because he did not exercise his legal right of election. In this case, the absurdity of pleading an exemption from the power of parliament is glaring: extend the comparison to all the real or fictitious millions of America, the plea is equally trifling and inconclusive.

C H A P. III.

Of the Respublica, or National Interest.

WE have made out the necessary existence of a discretionary sovereign power, in every independent state. We have shewn, that by means of a representative body, taken into the sovereignty, from the mass of the people, and after a certain period returning into it again; this sovereign power is framed consistent with liberty, nay is the only method, yet found

out, by which freedom, and all its privileges, can be effectually secured. We are now to ascertain the duty and office of a sovereign, in a well regulated state. — First, it is the duty of a sovereign, to secure to the people, by proper laws, the internal purposes of society, good manners, and the peaceable enjoyment of property, liberty, and life. Secondly, to provide against, and defend them from, foreign attacks. To carry on these purposes, which, of necessity, include expence, government must frame a respublica, national interest, or common stock, by means of imposts, levied upon the people, to be governed and defended, and disposed of, so as to effect the purposes intended by them. Connected with these purposes of government, is the art of finding employment for the people. In a populous long-settled country, agriculture is not sufficient to employ the whole people. Trade and manufactures must be called in, to set them at work, and maintain them. These require foreign markets to vend them, and these again draw after them store-houses, and emporiums, to lodge them; forts, soldiers, and navies, to protect and secure them.

them. All these naturally fall under the management and direction of the sovereign, or, in particular instances, to companies or societies, holding under the sovereign, and accountable to him. The Carthaginians carried this plan of police probably farther than any other ancient state, and their colonies seem to have resembled nearly those of modern Europe. The Athenians also, during the short period of their grandeur, extended their commercial connections, and conquests, for the sake of trade, every where around them. But modern Europe has pushed the plan to a surprising length. Asia, Africa, and America are filled with her colonies and emporiums, and the trade of these quarters is managed, and the several countries in them governed, by mandates issuing from the frozen North.

This republica appears more evident in the constitution of Britain, than of any other state. The sovereign power is so much blended with, or absorbed, in other states, in the person of the supreme executive magistrate, that the national interest and the king's claims cannot easily be separated in imagination. The glory of the
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grand monarque is, in France, the only phrase used to signify the public good. In Britain, a particular portion of the imposts is assigned, to the supreme magistrate, for the expences of his family, and the ordinary civil establishment; and all the other public revenues are subjected to the controul of the legislative body at large, and appropriated for carrying on the national interest.

The nation, by the forms of the constitution, has assigned the management of its interest, its powers of legislation, taxation, and government, to certain orders and individuals, taken from among themselves, assembled in parliament. In consequence of having the management of public affairs committed to them, by the people, parliament declares certain sums of money to be necessary for the public service; or that it is proper to check, by imposts, some disadvantageous, or to encourage, by bounties, some valuable, branch of trade; and that such and such particular methods are the best and easiest, that can be taken, for raising the sums among the people, who, properly speaking, are the parties interested in the matter, and will
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reap the benefit of the measure. Thus the people contribute to taxes, as a trading company does, to carry on a joint-interest.

It must be confessed, that parliament did not soon begin to entertain extensive or proper notions of its being the manager and guardian of the nation's interest or patrimony, or enter soon upon any fixed plan for improving or extending it. And, in truth, it has, as yet, made little progress in the intricate police of this department. But it has, from time to time, acted in this character. Wales was long annexed to the crown, before it was incorporated with the nation. The local customs and immunities of our several palatinates continue in force, only from an inattention to the perfection of our internal police; for if they be of a general nature, why are they not extended over the nation? If they be exclusive, wherein lies the reason of the preference? Charles the first had some notion of this respublica, when, aiming at setting up prerogative against the constitution, he, as far as his charter could, detached the colony of Maryland from the nation. Penn understood it, when with the opposite view of attaching his

colony to the nation, he got inserted into his charter the reservation of parliamentary taxation alone. The demolition of Tangier, and the sale of Dunkirk, could not have taken place in the manner they did, had parliament understood its office. Jamaica was considered very early as belonging to the state. Gibraltar and Minorca were both conquered for commerce, that is for the people; and the peace of 1763 carried this idea entirely through. The settlement of Georgia, Halifax, and the Floridas, was on the same principle. The several old American colonies, though many of them were at first settled with different views, have been gradually reduced to this plan, that is, have been made appendages to the kingdom, rather than the crown, of Britain. And the present struggle, on the side of America, set out with holding forth a pretence of reducing them back again to a dependence on the crown, instead of improving their dependence on parliament, till an opportunity should offer of shaking off dependence on both together *.

* Respecting the present dispute, the inhabitants of America may be divided into the following parties.
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It is to be remarked, that while the colonists contend for exemption from parliamentary

About ten or twelve sensible intelligent demagogues, who can gloss over their designs with an appearance of patriotism, who know the method of managing mobs, and how, by lies, forgeries, and possession of the press, to make and keep them up to be the instruments of their violence and malice, against all hesitating moderate people: these are a set of as atheistical, unprincipled, bankrupt profligates, as ever met together in one place; men in whom virtue cannot raise a blush, nor religion interpose a check, in the perpetration of the vilest crimes. A time of rapine and confusion is the only period for men of such talents; in scenes of noise and combustion, they rise to the top like scum in a boiling pot.

A second set are, a few men of better fortune and equal abilities, who scorning to be out-done by such pretenders in the appearance of their love to their country, and laying in a better claim for the honours and distinctions of it, and finding rebellion to be the only road to fame and power, strike in insensibly with them in the race of treason. But the property and principles of such men constantly drag them back, and instead of building on their own foundation, they either become mean instruments in the hands of these thorough-paced ——— to ruin their common country; or startled at some enormous step, they give up the pursuit, and sink down into an insignificancy, mistrusted by one party, despised by the other.

A third sort are, the well-meaning, uninformed part of the community, who would vindicate their private family against all mankind, their township against all other towns, and America, in any case, against Britain and America taken together. These men are told, for they never felt, that Britain had oppressed them; and, therefore, they must attempt the ruin of Britain.

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tary authority, as separate states, only subject to the same king, they claim as their birth-right, through this common bond of the

A fourth sort are numerous, the conceited enthusiasts. They are told, that the empire of liberty is reserved for them, though they find it begins in the most horrid slavery; that their armies are innumerable as the sands of the sea, though the most oppressive methods be used to recruit them; that their courage is irresistible, though never, except when fortified by numbers, have they dared to face hirelings in the field; that they ever are conquerors, though constantly retreating; that they possess all things, though in want of necessaries. — The city of London, supported by beef and pudding, has taken about seven years to evaporate its political influenza; perhaps a less period, without that solid support, will suffice American madness.

A fifth sort are, such as care for nothing beyond their own private concerns, going always with that party of which they are most afraid, which is the violent and lawless.

A sixth sort are, your soldiers of fortune, who would sacrifice a country for rank, and consider the events of war, only as they may contribute to their promotion.

A seventh sort are, such as are forced into opposition and arms, by violence and want of bread.

An eighth sort are, moderate, sensible people, who wish well to themselves and their country; who see the happiness of the first in the prosperity of the second; who, among the several parties, abhor the destructive ambition of the first, disdain the pusillanimous emulation of the second, pity the ignorant prejudices of the third, laugh at the romantic conceit of the fourth, despise the indifference of the fifth, view the sixth as the curse of the community, and deplore, in the seventh, the situation of their country. These men are lovers of order, and pray that the happiness of their province may be found in its connection with Britain.

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king, a communication in a free unburdened manner, of all those privileges and advantages, which Britain, that particular part of the king's dominions, for which these dictators suffer parliament to act, has earned for herself, at an immense expence of blood and treasure. If they claim privileges thus purchased by Britain, it should be with the burdens that attend them; — they must contribute to the expences, which have procured, and which support them. If they be separate states, then are they in the situation of Hanover, neither entitled to the privileges, nor subject to the burdens of Britain. But indeed, we seldom hear of separate states, besides themselves, which, from their first settlement, have had all their civil establishments supported by another state; without any thing in return, but a few unmeaning statutes and restrictions, to be found only on paper.—It is but too true, that, in respect of the colonies, parliament, as yet, has exercised its power over the national interest, only in improving them at the expence of Britain. And, notwithstanding the constant din of the commerce of Britain, its thriving only by America, and the bold assertion, that
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the trade of this last is superior to every mode of taxation, it may with truth be affirmed, that to have suffered America, as she has for many years past, to continue to interfere in every profitable branch of trade, but for a few years more, would have ruined the trade of Britain; and it would be much better to shake her off entirely, than to suffer her to continue to fatten thus on the spoils of Britain, and insult her benefactor. We should not then nourish a whole continent of smugglers, nor support them with our money in the destructive trade; we should not encourage such rivals with the monopoly of our market, nor burden ourselves with enormous bounties for their improvement, nor support heavy civil establishments for our enemies, nor, in their quarrel, endanger our own bankruptcy and ruin.

C H A P.

C H A P. IV.

Of Taxation.

FROM the principles here laid down, a power of taxation plainly appears to be an attribute of sovereignty, or an essential part of that management of the public good, which, in every state, is, and must be, committed to the sovereign's hands. And we may now affirm, that taxation has no other connection with representation, than as this may chance to constitute a branch of the supreme legislature. There may be, there are, sovereign powers, constituted without a representative branch; but no sovereign power can exist without a claim to taxation. Neither internal police can be carried on, nor private luxury be checked, nor public industry be directed, nor public enemies be opposed, nor public faith be preserved, without a power in the sovereign to appropriate for these ends a due proportion of private property.

Yet taxation and representation have been so much jumbled together by interest

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and faction, as to make it now a matter of difficulty to separate them. This is one of those vulgar errors, which we take up without examination, maintain without argument, and follow without knowledge, the combustion, raised about which, our posterity will hardly be able to credit, even while they continue to smart under its baneful effects. Had it been affirmed, that every sovereign power, compatible with freedom, supposed a temporary branch of legislature, taken from and returning into the mass of the people, the assertion would have been intelligible, and, as far as history and experience teach, agreeable to the truth of things; but to allow the actual existence of a sovereign, and permit him the exercise of other acts of sovereignty, and deny his power of taxation, is stark nonsense, though a thousand patriots should harangue to prove it, though ten thousand Americans should die in its vindication.

Taxes are raised upon the bulk of the people, who cannot be assembled to give their assent but by their agents. Even supposing agents, if, as is generally the case, they be not unanimous, a man may be taxed against his own consent and the
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consent of his agent; so that representation adds little certainty to the universality of consent.—The word tax, though simple in its meaning, when applied to the people, has as many different significations, as the purposes are, for which it is imposed.

1. Suppose a sovereign, and a subordinate state, and that protection, with great care, trouble, and expence, has taken effect; is the protector to humble himself before his charge, and say, it has cost me so much to defend you, and I find myself very disagreeably involved in debt on your account, if you please, you may repay me the expence; or will he make a positive demand, and ascertain his own claim. Suppose this subordinate province a part of the sovereign or protecting state, subject to its laws, and enjoying its immunities; does gratitude for its preservation, does a sense of the expensive generosity of its protector, annihilate the protector's acknowledged power in this particular of taxation? 2. A tax may be a benevolence, granted to the chief magistrate, for the private purposes of his family, or bestowed on some man of merit for some signal service performed to the public. A marriage portion for the

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king's daughter may be considered as an instance of the first, though, properly speaking, she is the child of the kingdom, to be endowed at the public expence; the pension, settled on admiral Hawke's family, may be considered as an instance of the second. This case of a benevolence, which we see can happen but seldom, and is of a very particular kind, has, for the purposes of sedition, been extended by Price to every possible case of taxation. But even here the only question, that could come before the people, is, whether such grants come within the ordinary power of their agents, assembled in parliament. And the man, who denies that, needs not be answered, but when we answer a fool according to his folly. 3. The people may be charged with a tax, in return for some favour granted, or some private claim given up by the crown, which I here distinguish from the sovereign, on the supposition, that the fundamental constitution allows such claim in the crown, which change of circumstances has rendered the exercise of inconvenient for the people. Such a tax immediately becomes the right of the crown, without account. Of this sort was the

the recompence, which Charles II. had for the abolition of the court of wards, and part of which he was, I believe, permitted, to settle on his bastards. And the right of parliament to make such a bargain, we may leave to be discussed with the preceding question. 4. A tax may have the future improvement or ornament of the state in view, as in the establishment of a new manufacture, the purchase of a museum, or the erecting of a palace. —In all these cases, we see in the sovereign, or agents of the people, or parliament, great occasion for an attention to the equity, the generosity, and propriety of the action, on the one side, and of the ability and interest of the people on the other. But we can suppose no possible abuse of this power, which can justify the people in any other opposition, than that of refusing their suffrages, on a future election, to such lavish representatives, or as the case may be, such niggardly agents; nor is there great reason to fear extravagance, while the agents themselves contribute to the taxes, which they impose. 5. A tax may be wanted to pay debts incurred in the service of the public. In this case,

parliament is only an arbitrator between the people and their creditors, and instead of being obliged to ask the consent of the people, for making such payment, must be considered as cloathed with power to enforce payment. 6. Taxes are necessary to carry on the internal police of the country; for a power of imposing such is understood in a power to regulate and carry on the affairs of the state. 7. Taxes must be raised to carry on a war, to levy an army, and equip a fleet. The only question, that occurs here, is, whether the sovereign, imposing the tax, be allowed, by the constitution, the exercise of these necessary attributes of sovereignty? and, if the answer be, as it must be, in the affirmative, there can be no room left for consulting, or procuring the approbation of the people. On the other hand, though we would not have public business, in the mean time, stand still, nor the sacred bond of allegiance broken, because of the imperfection, we affirm it to be a desirable improvement in the constitution, that for the more certain knowledge of, and more equal decision in, public matters, the elected part of that body, in which
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the sovereignty of the state visibly rests, should, if possible, be collected and chosen, from each particular district of the empire, for which it is to act.

In all the cases of taxation, which we have mentioned, every individual is, either in honour, or propriety, or justice, concerned in the claim; and it is the interest and business of every private person, as a member of the state, which is agitated in them. Those persons, then, and they alone, who have a power to decree or incur these expences, have a power to impose taxes to answer them. And could we suppose such a power lodged in any other body, than the supreme legislature of the empire, that body would also have the power of levying taxes, that is, of declaring what particular sum each individual owes to the public creditors, or public expences. — The Commissioners, who, after the peace of 1763, settled the German claims, and declared a certain sum to be due from the nation, properly speaking, laid a tax upon the public, for raising that sum, and left only to parliament the mode of payment. For, in ascertaining the justice of the claim, they imposed the tax; unless

we suppose sovereign states freed from those claims of justice, which bind private persons. There is, therefore, in no view, that we have yet taken, of taxation, any immediate connection between it and representation; nor indeed any, but through the medium of sovereignty, as far as it may be elective or temporary. Every person, who is protected by, or reaps security and advantage from the public expences, owes his proportion of these expences; and is bound, by every notion of equity and law, to make them good, whenever they have been ascertained, in form of a tax, by the supreme or protecting power in the state. The necessity of a supreme power in every independent state cannot be controverted. Whatever act that supreme power can legally perform, supposes authority in it to do every thing necessary to carry it into execution. For example, to believe that parliament has a power of encouraging some staple or manufacture by a bounty, and possesses not the power of raising that sum of money, by a tax, which will answer the bounty, is a supposition fraught with absurdity. Such a want of ability would put it in the power of
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of any refractory member or district of the state, to check every proper or necessary measure, and, on every occasion, throw public affairs into anarchy and confusion.

Yet, in no part of government needs authority to act more cautiously, and more behind the curtain, than in drawing from individuals their proportion of the public expence and debt. A man knows that money goes out of his pocket, when he pays a duty; but when he receives nothing sensibly particular in return, he must have a little sentiment, and something more than common honesty, to be able to say, I pay this chearfully, as the price of my protection and security. Hence the many laboured harangues and sympathetic descriptions of the violence and oppression in taking a man's money from him without his consent. On such a subject, dulness herself can be more than eloquent, selfishness shall affect public spirit, and the lurking traitor a love for his country. Seldom is it considered, that government and society must soon be dissolved, if public wants are to be supplied only by voluntary contributions; and that no point is more necessary to be established in society, and at the same

time more necessary to be exercised with caution, than the authority of the sovereign, to declare each man's proportion of the public expences.

Though we vindicate taxation, as a necessary appendage of sovereignty, since the people are thus sharp-sighted in every thing, that respects their property, and since it is necessary to manage their prejudices, nothing is more impolitic in government, than to mention a particular district in a tax, or impose a tax, whose operation shall be confined to a particular province; unless it be with a view to their particular advantage, or as a recompense for some partial privilege, or favour conferred on the inhabitants, or any particular body or craft of men, in which the public has a right to share.—The malt-tax is an impost, which comes under a general description; and yet one might suppose, the principle of the bill would have had a more general operation, had orchards, for the making of cyder, been originally included. The cyder act, which was meant to give the other a more general effect, by being afterwards brought into parliament separately, contracted thereby an appearance
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of discrimination and partiality. The tax upon beer sold is a premium given to the public, for the monopoly of that internal branch of trade. The king's duty of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in the old Charibbee sugar-lands, was, in part, granted in lieu of some old claims of the crown, and a recompence for protection, before parliamentary taxes were laid upon the West-Indian produce. The duty, imposed upon coals in London, had immediately in view the improvement of that city, in the building of the fifty new churches.—But no whereas or preamble, that had not the particular advantage of the county in view, could, for example, sanctify, or justify, a particular tax laid upon sugar, or any other commodity imported into Cornwall, on the supposition of that county's already paying its due proportion of all the general taxes of the empire.—This doth not however apply to the present agitated three-penny duty of America; for, in respect of the duty levied on the same article in the mother-country, the amount of that tax is an indulgence rather than an impost, in respect of the use to which the money was to have been put, the support of their
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own civil establishments, the tax was meant to procure for that country a particular advantage; and it could not have been affirmed, that it already paid its due proportion of the general taxes.—With these exceptions, every tax bill should be expressed in general terms, which would give it an universal operation, and cut off all cause of murmuring, by including alike the legislative body, and the most distant corner and meanest member of the state. And in this case, representation, that champion of taxation, might, at least, for this purpose, be dropped as unnecessary and useless. For every part of the empire, and every member of the state, would be equally treated with those, who actually voted for the impost.

C H A P. V.

Taxation further considered.

THIS position of taxation's supposing representation, has arisen from the vulgar error of every tax being a gift from the people to the crown. An opinion which has been confirmed by the form
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continued to be used, by the king, in giving assent to the tax bill. While the maintenance of the king's family, and his foreign wars with France and Scotland, which generally were offensive, having the aggrandizement of the crown chiefly in view, with which the people had little national concern, were the chief objects of taxation, there might be some reason for calling a tax a free gift, which, as it should come freely from the giver, so doth it immediately become the property of the receiver, to be spent or managed as he pleaseth. But since the king has had a certain sum, allotted for the ordinary expences of his family and government, and since every other impost, as belonging to the respublica, is now appropriated by parliament, for particular public purposes, as plainly appears in our account of taxation, the name of gift cannot, with propriety, be applied to taxes. A gift may now be a proper name for a benevolence granted to their monarch, by the clergy or other subjects of France, because they have no constitutional power in the state, and can have no immediate interest in the use to which the money may be put.

When

When the subject of taxation is thus viewed in the light of a national concern, the notion of a gift can have no place. The sovereign or parliament transacts the whole matter, as a necessary part of government, for the people, at large; and the people acquiesce in it, in obedience to the constitution, from the justice and necessity of the thing, and a persuasion, that such expences are wanted to carry on the public, that is their own business.—To apply this to the Americans, they admit so far a common interest between Britain and themselves, as to put in, we see, for a share of almost every profitable branch of her trade, leaving taxes and losses to herself; and they lately acknowledged parliament to have so far a power of regulating their foreign trade, as they cannot prevent by smuggling; and during war, they graciously allow it to be so far their sovereign, as to suffer it to protect them with its fleets and armies, at a most enormous ruinous expence. If they mean any thing, let them say how this can be done without a power of taxation. Or let them conceive an interest common between America and Britain, .

Britain, without a power of imposing taxes equally on both, existing somewhere.

The soundness of a principle of reasoning is best found out, by carrying it its full length, and observing its operation. A tax is a gift, and must be bestowed freely by the donor, or his agent empowered by him. By the same rule, it becomes the full property of him, who receives it, and the donor has no right to enquire into the use he makes of it. The very idea, of enquiring into the use of money paid to another, supposes it to have been given for the benefit and interest of him who pays it. If there be a single person unrepresented, a single man, who voted against the successful candidate, or a single representative, who opposed the impost, who yet contributes each to the tax, then that tax, in respect of all such, is no gift but a burden, imposed by their governors or rulers, on a certain part of the people, without or against their consent. To consider taxes as a gift, renders void the noblest privilege of parliament, a right of enquiring into, and controuling, the management of public money, which can only be proper, on the supposition of its
having

having been raised for national purposes, or to carry on the respublica. Further, a gift can be with-held without a crime; but he who keeps back the proportion, which he owes to the common stock, subjects himself to a forfeiture, and, in the case of the public, is guilty of a crime little short of treason.

Let us suppose a real connection between taxation and representation, and that representation is not so complete in the British empire as it ought to be; must a necessary defensive war be suspended, the encouragement of an useful manufacture be neglected, the public creditors be starved, and the public debtors not called to an account, till that improvement takes place? Must not that supreme power, which now is acknowledged to exist, transact this necessary business, till the nation shall gradually advance to that desired state of perfection? Among the Romans, *ne quid detrimenti respublica capiat* was a maxim paramount to every law. Their dictators did not turn over law books, to look for rules to direct their conduct; but drew, from their own good sense, remedies to heal the disorders of the state. A dictatorial power, however
full

full of danger, is necessary, nay is essential, and actually takes place, in every state. And where can we lodge it more safely, than with our parliament, such as it is. Chester and Durham paid taxes before they were represented, nor in their petitions did they say, they ought not to pay taxes, but, as they paid taxes, that they ought to be represented. Let the same application be used in the present dispute; and if the privilege be refused, then will America have cause to complain. A legislative body, that has the public good in view, will be desirous of drawing information from every province, and that information will come most constitutionally from representatives, admitted, from each, to share with the sovereign in all the rights of legislation. Our parliaments cannot be much celebrated for their abilities and skill in framing statutes; but their sincere inclination towards public improvement cannot be doubted. Hence the princely rewards offered for useful discoveries, hence our multiplied new laws for improving trade and police, hence the almost annual amendments in our several statutes, as soon as any defect is found in their constitution. Surely such a well-meaning sovereign can

call forth the spirit of rebellion only by its lenity, and nothing but the fashionable doctrine, that every turbulent man, and every seditious district, have a right to put their own interpretation on the laws, and define the degree of obedience, which they owe to them, could have raised the dispute to its present dangerous height.

The only shadow of argument, used by the Americans, against taxation by the British parliament, is that "such taxes absolutely lighten the burdens of, instead of being borne by, those who impose them, that they have no check upon their extravagance, that they, who thus take a penny from them, may take all they possess; and that they, sweet jealous souls! in their enthusiasm for liberty, cannot endure the thoughts of even the bare possibility of such an event."—It is publicly affirmed, that the king himself is in a plot, with lord Bute, to bring in the pretender, and every melancholic, disappointed, pretended whig counterfeits the belief of it. And certainly another man could not have been found in the nation equally able as his Majesty, to bring such a scheme to bear; and it is also certain that it is not impossible for parliament to pass an act to slit the nose of every man in the nation.

What

What security have we against these events; not the mathematical impossibility of them, but their absurdity and improbability. Parliament may, it is allowed, abuse the authority, which it possesses over America; and so may, and so have, and so still to do, more likely are, its own assemblies; and the power of parliament, before this, has been solicited and called in to relieve them from and correct the abuse. But if America be really a part of the empire, the specimen, which it has had of parliamentary taxation, in the duty upon tea, is an indulgence not an impost, seeing the mother-country, in the same article, is more highly taxed. And whatever has been really the case, it is yet to be proved, that Britain ought to favour America, at her own expence. In justice, therefore, America should have postponed resistance, till actual oppression had justified it. For if fear is to vindicate resistance, ambition will never want a pretence for rebellion, nor turbulent men a plea for sedition and tumult.

But farther, parliament is allowed to be the just sovereign of Britain, and America was lately acknowledged to be a part of the British empire. Can America then be

injured by acts of the British legislature, and Britain not suffer in the imprudent transaction? When it makes for their purpose, the poor oppressed Americans can say with a boast, that a third part of the trade of Britain arises from their industry; and we know indeed that Britain had a debt of five millions due to her in that continent, which has set that industry, whatever it is, in motion: a part this, by the bye, of their apparent property, and stock in trade belonging to Britain, probably greatly exceeding the fortunes of all their assemblymen, and therefore securing an attention to their interest, in the British legislature, equally with that of Britain herself. We know also, that the trade of Britain is fettered and restrained by imposts, which have been laid on it, to support the quarrel of, and pay bounties to, America. Now, we know that America, at its highest calculation, exceeds not, in number of people, the fifth, most probably not the sixth, part of the whole British empire *. If it then carries

* In the estimate of the population of America, published by the congress, which makes the whole amount to about three millions, South Carolina is set down at 232,000, without distinguishing freemen from slaves. A gentleman, of sensibility and penetration in

carries on one third part of the trade, it must of consequence be the most opulent part, and therefore best able to bear taxes. Every tax then, which America can easily bear, or even endure, without being reduced below the present languishing state of Britain, she ought to pay, seeing it is only wanted to reduce her own debts, and in her subordinate state, whatever may be really the case, she can have no good title to be put in a better condition than the mother-country, which languishes under the efforts made in her cause.—If parliament, injudiciously, lay impositions, which lessen the trade of America, and thereby put it out of her power to pay her debts to Britain, it does an injury to that country, of which it is allowed to be the proper sovereign and protector. Yet this is a case, which we are not to suppose, or expect, to happen; nor is there any remedy, should

in office in that province, assured the author, that by a very accurate calculation, it had been discovered, that the free inhabitants, of both sexes and of all ages, did not exceed 70,000. Taking this for their real number, and supposing their 88 battalions, of which South Carolina is to raise six, to be allotted in proportion to their numbers, the free inhabitancy of the thirteen provinces, of both sexes and all ages, will be within a million.

it happen, but war, which dissolves government all together.

That there would be a propriety in admitting representatives from America, into parliament, for information concerning the state and ability of their constituents, and for collecting more equally the sense of the several parts of the empire, I readily acknowledge *. Nor, if it were properly proposed, is it probable, that parliament either could or would refuse to admit such into their consultations. Though there want not other pretences, nothing hinders it, but that jealousy in the Americans, of every thing which seems to tie them to, or reminds them of their dependence on the mother-country. Hence that constant opposition to the introduction of bishops, that necessary part of the establishment of

* The notion that every place is entitled to a share in the legislature, in proportion to its opulence, is formed upon the supposition, that each will be upon the catch to take advantage of the other. But in this case, in what manner shall we secure the less opulent parts? and yet life, liberty, and property, is as dear in them, as in the greatest and most wealthy. Let us consider rather the state as one than many, and then all that we shall expect from particular representatives, will be information concerning the condition of their constituents, and that can be done by two or three, better than by a thousand.

the English church. Hence that constant aversion to every hint respecting incorporation. Hence that pitiful police, in making and keeping their judges dependent for their maintenance, on the annual capricious grants of a popular assembly, so well exemplified in the case of Oliver. Hence the virtue and patriotism, which they place in an open opposition to all revenue laws, even those, which, ever since their first settlement, have been made for the purpose of directing their commerce *.

If

* This disposition for independency will be considered afterwards; in the mean time, we offer the following anecdotes towards a proof of it.

A gentleman, who after a settlement of many years in New England returned to Britain in 1756, speaking of the country to his brother, thus addressed him, " Brother, you and I may not perhaps live to see the period; but take my word, in a few years it will be independent of Britain; and were my poor voice heard, I would advise the sending out of Duke William to be their sovereign, and emancipate them at once."

A British officer, walking with his friend over the plains of Abraham, two days after the battle which decided the fate of Canada, exclaimed, " This was indeed a noble action; but remember, my friend, I tell you, it was the worst day, that ever Old England saw." His friend remembers this, and applies the prophecy to the present hazardous dispute. Nay, even before the troops went that year into winter quarters, they were insulted by the New England people, and were told, " Now our back-settlements are secured, we shall soon

If parliament should adopt the measure of American representatives, and the plan is

be independent of you.—During that very winter, at New York, in a large company of army officers, Livingston, and other great men of the province, the conversation turned upon the expences of the war, and the propriety of America's contributing something towards them. Some one suggested an exact requisition of quit-rents. Livingston, who holds the grant of a whole county, clapping his hand to his sword, replied, “not while he could wield that weapon should England get it, but with his heart's blood.” And the noble sentiment was echoed by all the Americans present.

If it be asked, how came Administration to continue ignorant of the designs of the Americans, when there were so many officers acquainted with their baseness, to set them right, we shall answer, that it was then the fashion with people in power to despise all information from that quarter, as the tales of prejudice. Franklin had wriggled or electrified himself so much into public opinion, that ministers saw only through the mist which he had conjured up before them.

Bradstreet, after his expedition in 1764 against the Indians, made the tour of America. He every where saw the provinces aiming at independency, gave information of it, and suggested a remedy, one part of which was to make New York a place of arms, and so divide the northern from the southern colonies. In the mean time began the noise about the stamp act; an event which encouraged the court of France to send out ——— a German officer in their service, to sound the Americans, and observe if they were ripe for rebellion. What passed between him and the American demagogues is easier to be guessed than known. But it was contrived, that he should write a letter to his court, bearing that the dispute was only a slight family quarrel, which would be made up without any consequences;

is as practicable as that of American agents, which has so long obtained, the present troubles are the fittest time to bring it about. Five members would be a sufficient number from the more populous colonies; and there should not be fewer than three from the smallest, that they may be a kind of private committees, each, to prepare the parliamentary business of the colony. Their provincial councils and assemblies might return, each to their governor, double the number to be appointed, who should make an election, and commission the proper representatives. Some of them might go out, by rotation, every year, their councils and assemblies determining the persons so to go out, and presenting, as at first, to the governor, twice the number wanted to succeed them; but none, who had been once passed over by the governor, should, during that parliament, be offered again for his approbation. —Indeed whatever regulations parliament has in view, and many are wanted, respect-
 quences; and it was so managed, that this letter should fall into our ministers hands, who winked at and swallowed the finesse, disregarding the monitions of Bradstreet.

ing the colonies, they should be framed and enacted during these disputes, that the de-luded people, among them, may know the conditions of, and be encouraged in, re-turning to their duty. This general rule may be laid down in framing the regula-tions, that a citizen is always a more use-ful member of the state, and more easily kept in obedience to the law, than a slave or a subject. Though this hinders not, but that in regulating their trade and po-lice, the interest of any particular part should be made to yield to the general good of the empire. Our eagerness to obviate this objection, respecting representation, has introduced here this observation a little out of its place.

C H A P. VI.

Reflections arising from the Principles established above.

BY the late tyrannical encroachments on the continent of Europe, liberty is now confined in a manner, within the limits of the British empire. The liberty, the prosperity, the independence of Britain
and

and her colonies, are bound up with their mutual connection and dependence. Nor can Britain give up her claim of sovereignty, nor the colonies break through their dependence, but at the hazard of every valuable privilege of society. Whenever Britain is separated from the colonies, such is her condition of debt and taxation incurred on their account, that without some great change in the commercial world and her own manners, she must fall from her present distinguished rank among the nations; perhaps into a dependence on some powerful neighbour*: a consideration, that might give even a stern American patriot a pause of sympathy. Whenever her colonies be-

* The only remedy in this case is a voluntary bankruptcy. Her agent or factor, America, according to Glover, is gone off with all her wealth; and she can make no other payment to her creditors, but the offer of orders on America, if indeed this last have honesty to accept or pay them. It would no doubt be hard upon the public creditors to lose their money; and to save the state, by this method, thousands must be ruined. But there is also a hardship in paying, to those, debts and interest for a purchase, by whose machinations that has ceased to be property, on the faith of which the debt was incurred. And seriously, the Dutch, which have supported America in her scheme of independence, and every monied man in Britain, who favours her cause, should be sent to America, for the payment of their money in the public funds.

come

come independent, they will harrafs each other out with continual wars, till the smallest and most luxurious be swallowed up by the most populous and least wealthy. While under the protection of Britain, their internal taxes will continue to be trifling and light. Before these troubles, their amount was estimated to be under 160,000 l. per annum, throughout the whole continent; a sum which will go a short way to equip those navies, and arm those battalions, of which already, in their nascent state of independence, they begin to boast. When each acts for itself, or a subordinate part to a neighbouring colony, the expences of the smallest will soon greatly exceed that sum.

Nothing has more contributed to inspire the self-sufficient notions, or infused into them opinions more incompatible with their union to the parent state, than the constant assertions of speculative political writers, that liberty will take up her last asylum with them. Many among them, friends to the unalienable rights of human nature, have been drawn in by designing men, from this belief, to take an active part in the present unnatural contest. Yet

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it is well known, that luxury, and even an effeminacy, incompatible with a disinterested exertion of free principles, are much farther advanced in America, than in many countries of Europe; or even in far the greatest part of Britain in particular, so as to make British corruption and American virtue nearly on a par; of which we need no other proof than their own boasted enormous imports, extending to every article of luxury and finery. After all their cry of liberty, I question if selfish luxury and distinction have left, in any province, virtue and public spirit sufficient to erect a temple to equal liberty, or to establish among themselves a system of equal laws. Every corner of America will be a theatre for some little designing tyrant, and his junto, to oppress and wear out the sober and industrious. Where all pretend to be rulers, there may be faction and party, but neither will authority or law flourish. Confusion and anarchy will prevail over the whole. The august congress has not yet raised our expectations higher. Nor can we hope for much from a body of men, who after three years absolute tyranny,

are

are still obliged to call in lawless mobs, to carry their orders into execution.

All the American writers make not the least doubt but America will start up a mighty people, and a large empire, as soon as they shall have shaken off their dependency on Britain. In fancying this, they make no allowance for their several motely constitutions, various manners, interfering staples, old grudges, only lulled asleep for a time, by their spite to Britain. Nor think they of the numbers, intrigue, ambition, and poverty of the northern colonies, and the narrow persecuting spirit, that prevails among them, nor of the defenceless inviting situation of the southern provinces*. Nor reckon they upon the
loss

* When the merchants of Philadelphia were deliberating what part to take, upon the destruction of the tea, an inhabitant, a gentleman of character, observed to them the absurdity of their being misled a second time, by the people of Boston, after their unfair conduct, upon the non-importation occasioned by the stamp act, when the merchants of that town, who pretended to be most eager for violent measures, continued privately to import vast quantities of all goods, while they, who were only drawn by their pretended example into the resolution, actually suspended their trade. He assured them, they meant to repeat the same farce; for to his knowledge, lately, mentioning the day, a ship had arrived at Boston
with

loss of the gainful monopoly of the British market, and the many advantageous branches of trade, and encouraging bounties, and long and extensive credit, which will fall to the ground, with their dependence on the mother-country; while their armies, navies, and civil employments are multiplied, and only their taxes and paper currency increased in the like proportion. It needed not surprise the observing philosopher, if that continent, left to itself, gradually sunk back into a state of insignificance, little differing from its situation two centuries ago *.

with near two hundred chests of tea, for one of their leading patriots. They answered, though they were loath to doubt intelligence, noted for its accuracy, and a veracity, which stood among them unimpeached, yet he might be mistaken, the people of Boston could not be such villains. The gentleman was silent, but immediately wrote to a particular correspondent in Boston, and by the return of the post, had an authenticated account of seventeen hundred chests imported there, to make a gain of the non-importation. This account was laid before the merchants. They stared; and transmitted it to New York. The merchants there remonstrated with those in Boston. Adams called a meeting, and told them, they would lose the southern colonies, unless they sacrificed the tea; and in a fit of gloomy reluctant patriotism, they formed the resolution. It was thrown into the sea.

* Much has been said about the innocence and virtue of the Americans, and of there being hardly ever any

It must be confessed, the immediate origin of the present dispute, put on the appear-

any public executions in their provinces, as a circumstance from which to conclude their future grandeur. The truth is, their paucity of executions arises not from a scarcity of crimes, but want of energy in the magistracy. All acquainted with the country agree, that to hang a notorious villain is the most difficult thing in life. But can sentiment or virtue prevail in a country, in which barbarity, to every man among them, who was not mad for rebellion, has taken every horrid shape, and the most shocking cruelties and murders have been encouraged in their mobs, and applauded by newspaper publications?

A few years ago, a man of fortune and education went from the West-Indies, to look out for a retreat for his family in America. He came back, said he liked the country exceedingly; but he could not trust his family in places, where the laws had no power, where crimes, destructive to society, suffered no punishment. —About twenty years ago, some sailors carried off a vessel from St. Christopher, and sold her at Rhode Island, without any title. The owner pursued, discovered, and prosecuted them to conviction. The Rhode Island mob assembled on this alarming occasion of hanging men for piracy, and resolved, that to prevent it from growing into a custom, it was necessary to execute the *lex talionis* on the prosecutor. While they were laying their plan, the man luckily received a hint of it, and barely got off in time to avoid giving an example to all men, not to meddle with crimes agreeable to the people.

About the year 1770, in November, after winter had set in, a vessel loaded with contraband goods was seized by the collector at Cape May. She got off in the night, and run up to Philadelphia. In a few days after, the collector's son, a youth about eighteen years old,

appearance of a naked, inconsiderate, unmeaning exertion of authority, the pretended purpose of which, as we shall hereafter shew, might have been attained in a less offensive, and much more effectual

old, was observed at Philadelphia. It was immediately concluded, he had come up about the smuggler. He was searched for, dragged out into the street, stripped naked, and a rope passed round his arms, drawn so tight, as soon to break them both. He was then tarred and feathered, and drawn by the rope through the principal streets; and, when thought to be expiring, was thrown into a dock full of mud. But recollecting that he would be too soon stifled, he was taken into a boat, ferried over into the Jersey side, and left to his fate on the frosty bank. Next morning, he was found stiff in a neighbouring copse. The inquisition remains yet to be taken.

The Moravians at Bethlehem in Pennsylvania have been called upon to associate in the rebellion, and abjure the king and government of Great Britain. Both these steps, they have positively refused to take. On this, they have been confined within a certain distance of their homes, on pain of being treated as spies, and a tax has been levied upon them of seven pounds per poll, per annum, by two half yearly payments. On their first refusal to pay this enormous tax, commissaries and a party of soldiers were sent to exact it; they then collected the money, and laid it out before the commissaries on a table, with this protestation, "We declare that you have no right to demand this money, that we are not obliged to pay it; but we are in your power, and cannot oppose the injustice, which forces thus our property from us." The general hospital of the army has been also fixed among them, in which it is usual to have sixty men to bury in a week.

H

way.

way. But the improper, precipitate, and criminal manner, in which it has been opposed, has thrown a veil over the original umbrage, if any, indeed, were given. And it is not judging harshly of the colonists, from their conduct, to say, that, if this opportunity of disputation had not happened, they would have made an opportunity rather than have kept quiet. America, like a young eagle, is now trying her wings, and attempting her flight, longing for the day, that shall emancipate her from a parent's care, in turn to search for that ambitious rule, which in her parent is so painful to her, which in turn shall bring debt and ruin on her also. Why else take the present opportunity of holding up, as intolerable grievances, regulations in trade, to which they had formerly submitted? why blame in the practice, what they have allowed in the principle *? In respect of the present dispute, if no other cause of emulation existed between the parties, were the merits on both sides more

* This is to be particularly seen in that controul over their foreign trade, which, in their various contradictory resolutions, as it suited their present purpose of frightening or cajoling, they would, and they would not, allow to the British parliament.

equally

equally balanced, it surely would not require the skill of a Daniel, to determine between an over indulgent parent, and an hitherto sickly pampered brat, the party, that should yield the point. Happy will they both be, if foreigners suffer them to decide the question, without intermeddling in the contest. Britain has struggled through many dangerous attacks, and risen strengthened and improved from blows, that threatened to crush her into ruin. Why may we not hope, that the present important contest will also add to the strength and perfection of our constitution? And this might well happen to be the case, did parliament embrace the present opportunity of enquiring into the real state of America, regulating her trade, resuming such branches as are adapted for her own, or the use of her legitimate children in the sugar-colonies, confining the industry of America to the perfection of our own staples, and the general good of the empire, obliging her to contribute her due share of the public expences, and fixing upon a proper comprehensive plan of colony-legislation.

In the present dispute, every advocate for the colonies rejoices in the expectation, that France will join America, and that both together, they will be an over-match for their native country, Britain, and lay her bleeding at their feet. That *amor patriæ*, which exalted every peasant, Greek and Roman, into an hero, is despised as meanness of sentiment, by the knight-errants for American independency. Their patriotism consists in wishing, and, to the utmost of their power, procuring the ruin of their country; and were its proud cities on fire, they could stand like Nero, and fiddle over the conflagration *. And all this

* It is beyond a doubt, that the people of Boston were repeatedly pressed in letters from their friends in London, to contrive by every method to destroy the tea, as the circumstance on which all their hopes depended. With this view, the town committee obliged the ship master, under the severest threats, to bring the ship above the castle; because they knew she could not again pass it, till cleared out at the custom-house. The governor's refusal to let her pass without a clearance was received, in a numerous town meeting, with shouts of joy; and immediately they set about the destruction.

The news of the skirmish at Lexington was received in all their towns with every demonstration of joy; and while with Horne they pretended to lament, what they were pleased to call the murder of their countrymen, (and yet, what put them in arms, but a design to murder

this horror of sentiment is to be vindicated, by barely saying, that they only wait for their country's ruin, to go over to her enemies, and participate in their conquests.

der others, the soldiers?) they congratulated each other on the happy event. And as the day, on which they attacked captain Preston, is yearly celebrated, to hold in remembrance their first courage to resist, so the 19th of April is solemnly set apart, as the day of their manumission from what they call British slavery.

While Gage, on his arrival in the province, was proceeding through the streets of Boston, to take the oaths of government, the propriety of shooting him out of a window was seriously debated; and it was with great difficulty, that the demagogues could restrain the fury of their instruments, from thus precipitating their immature schemes.

Some time after the attack of Bunker's Hill, a visitant at Washington's camp was lamenting the distressed situation of things, and wishing some plan might be embraced for healing the differences, that they might again see better times. A captain Brown, who was present, and who looked forward I suppose to a truncheon, took him up short, saying the times were then very good, he never desired to see better.

Washington, at table, gave for a toast a speedy accommodation of matters. Putnam, when it came to his turn, gave a brisk and lasting war. Washington expressed some disgust at the horrid sentiment, and desired an explanation. The old brewer replied, putting his hand to his sword, he had thrice girded on that trusty weapon to his side, and he never had fared better in his life, than while he wore it.

Lee commanded at Charles-Town, when news came of the battle of Long Island. He spent the evening at a gentleman's house, into which he frequently invited

quests *. As if protection and the benefits of society, drew no claims after them; as if a man might stab his parent, and join with robbers in dividing his spoil afterwards. These opinions are delivered by worthy sensible men with such energy, and, on hearing, strike me with such abhorrence, as often to make me wish I could be an American but for one half hour, that I might judge of the satisfaction, which I should feel in the imagined triumphs of France and America over my country, and of the pleasure arising from a contemplation on the ruin of my friends, my family, my concerns, the land of my nativity †.

But

himself, while his household were left to shift for themselves all over the town; after sitting for some time musing, he started up with these words, "Well, should we not succeed in arms, I have only to write an history of the American war, and any bookseller in London will give me ten thousand guineas for it."

* Opposition rejoice at every check the king's troops meet with in America; and the killing or mangling of a soldier, by a cowardly rebel, fills them with a savage kind of pleasure. When the king heard of the numbers of rebels stifled in the morass at Long Island, he compassionately observed, "these men have wives, have parents, who are rendered unhappy by their death, would to heaven they had escaped, and got safe home to comfort them."

† Take the following as an example of what may be called an enthusiasm in villany. Captain Payne, since
aid

But we will for once, as is the pretence
with these people for uttering such senti-
ments

aid de camp to General Howe, in the beginning of these troubles, was quartered in wooden barracks at New York. In that humane polished city, every night, after dark, a number of musket shot was fired into the captain's room, as if plainly aimed at him, one of which struck down the candle by which he was reading; so that, like some of our old tyrants, he was obliged to shift his chamber every night, privately. Further.

In April 1776, at the rendezvous of American traders at Point Petre Guadaloupe, was a vessel belonging to George Rome, the man who has been made famous, by the treachery of that American Zanga, or rather Jago Franklin, in being betrayed to the resentment of the mob, by the publishing of his private letters, in which he had dared to complain, that the courts in Rhode Island denied to give judgment in favour of English creditors. The American patriots, at Point Petre, judging that an Englishman, a publisher of, and sufferer by, American corruption, ought to have no share in their smuggling trade with the French, informed the French governor, that Rome's vessel had spermaceti candles on board; a thing they might at random have guessed at, because they all dealt in the same article. On this information, the vessel and cargo were confiscated and sold; and the vessel has been since bought and fitted out, by a merchant in Dominica, to carry rum to the coast of Africa.

The same Franklin, about 1759, visited Scotland, and among other places there, went to view the old abbey of Scoon. After satisfying his curiosity, he remarked, clapping his Ciceroni on the shoulder, "Here, you tell me were your kings crowned; you or I, perhaps both, may live to see the day, when it shall be said of St. James's, here did our kings dwell." The destruction of one family, even though royal, would

ments of horror, suppose a revolution necessary in the state, at this present period; that parliament and our governors are so corrupt, and the essentials of the constitution so greatly infringed, that it is requisite, even at the risk of foreign conquest, to bring back things to their first principles. What nation more free and virtuous shall we be incorporated with? Whom have we, at present, among ourselves, fit to take the lead in this necessary reformation? Every friend of the present government must of necessity be passed by. Shall we then apply to that blaspheming profligate, who was the lucky instrument in procuring a constitutional decision in general warrants.—I am so nice in my political taste, that I would have every man, who sets up for a reformer, and reforma-

give such a comprehensive genius little remorse. But had he reflected that a struggle, which could pull a family from the throne, must ruin thousands, and convulse the nation to its center, and perhaps after all open the way only to anarchy among the people, or lawless tyranny in the family of some upstart bastard Franklin, he might, if he had any human feelings remaining, perhaps have felt a shock as penetrating as from an electrified paper kite. His conversations concerning American independency, while on that visit, are still remembered in the North.

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tion is the professed design of these pretended whigs, or bosom enemies of their country, to be able to bear the strictest scrutiny into his private life, motives, and conversation *; and so scrupulous am I, in this respect, that even the inflexible ——— has lost something in my esteem, since I have been informed, he prefers the character of Keeper to that of Husband. Certain it is, in Athens, the man, who did not give to his country the pledges of wife and family was deemed unworthy of any office of credit or honour, even in their army or navy. Why should it not be so ordered in Britain? If then, I must be subject to profligacy and corruption, let me be subject to that, which is already in pos-

* It is curious to observe, what partial views the sentimental friends of America take of things. Washington, for example, shall be applauded as an hero, for attempting to save to a man a three-penny duty upon an article of luxury; and on condition that he does this, he may desert his wife, to whom he owes his fortune, and amuse himself with the seduction of other women, making them criminal and wretched, and their families contemptible, he is still the greatest and best of patriots. Yet what notions of liberty or virtue can that man entertain, who tramples on the dearest rights of society, as they respect individuals? and how lame must that constitution be, which is contrived by a debauchee or profligate.

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session of authority in the state.—A new tyrant, struggling for power, must fix himself by violence. One for whose power length of time pleads prescription, becomes satiated with acts of tyranny, and is content if things go on without innovation.—The Romans could assassinate Cæsar; but had they virtue to reap the fruits of the bold atchievement? or, did they advance their condition by it? Yet they had, but where shall we find a Brutus, to take the lead in this glorious race of liberty?

To come at once to the point: I would rather submit my life, liberty, and property, in the most distant province of the empire, to the disposal of the British parliament, which is in possession of the only sovereign authority in the state, corrupt and ministerially led, as it is supposed to be, than to the most virtuous popular assembly, at this time existing in the colonies, or to the purest convention, that could be made up out of those, who are in opposition to government.—The proper plan for those, who really wish well to freedom, and the progress of the constitution, which, it must be allowed, is in several essential points deficient, is not, in
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this age of universal profligacy and selfishness, to precipitate matters; for that, in taking away one evil, would deliver us bound to a greater mischief; but to go on, by their own chastity of manners, their conversation, and writings, gradually to open, and prepare the minds of the people for the reception of that undistinguishing operation of law, in which alone true political freedom is to be found; and however corrupt and biassed parliaments, in the eye of prejudice and disappointment, may seem to be; yet the lessening of their own privileges in matters of debt, and their late improvement of the law of elections, give us room to hope, that every other necessary improvement may gradually in time take place, without any dangerous convulsive struggle in the state; if opposition would but act on generous grounds, and reserve themselves for, and persevere only in things of public advantage*.

Nothing

* If it be objected, that the profligacy and villany of the leading men in congress ought to be no objection to the cause in which they are engaged, because too many of our own great men have also little character to spare; I answer, I plead not for such either on the one or the other side of the Atlantic. But supposing our
great

Nothing is so common among the partizans of America, as to vindicate their horrid sentiments, by conning over the words Tyranny and Oppression of government; as if like misery was never before felt, and lord North, and one or two more, stood ready to swallow up law and privilege at a gulp.—America is now the freest country in the world. Every man does what is right in his own eyes, and lives to his own desire. In short, the present times there, are the golden age of Hesperia renewed; and some future historian will celebrate them, as a glimpse of that political happiness, which wretched mortals are hardly blessed with once in a century. The congress, like a senate of gods, (I pray they may not, like them, turn out to be pimps, cheats, and thieves,) only publish their opinion, and it is im-

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great men to be as vile as our immaculate opposition think fit to paint them, thank heaven, though they may have the temporary direction of our affairs, yet they had not like these, at present in America, the framing of our constitution. That, strong and buoyant by its nature, and founded in virtue and religion, can easily free itself from every accidental stain, contracted from an unhallowed touch; while the constitution, now rising in America, must essentially partake of every worthless attribute of those who frame it.

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plicitly complied with. Yet a friend of Britain might venture a comparison between that land of oppression and this free country *.

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* The rebels, to induce the Germans settled among them to join in their treason, bid them recollect their situation in Germany. We were, said they, at the will of our nobles and landlords, and were taxed even beyond the utmost efforts of industry. In this manner, it is answered, intends Britain to treat you here. This had its effect for some time; at last, a little experience taught them to reply. "We have seen nothing of that yet; but under Britain's rule we were easy, and grew rich. Since the congress have made themselves masters, we must become soldiers against our will, we must exchange our commodities for waste paper. Every fellow, calling himself an American soldier, comes in, makes free with our houses, our victuals and drink, our wives and daughters; and if his excess be reprov'd, asks us, if he be not fighting for our liberty. If a man, through principle, or bodily infirmity, or to save his business for the maintenance of his family, seems loath to become a soldier, he must pay four shillings in the pound of his gross income, and twenty shillings per month besides, to maintain vagrants, calling themselves the continental army." To this remonstrance, the cry is returned, a tory, a traitorous tory. He is tarred, feathered, and pilloried, his house is plundered, he dies of the ill treatment, and his family is ruined.—This is American liberty.

The American prisoners, taken on the lakes, were bid to go peaceably to their several homes. They entreated the British officers to suffer them to continue under their protection; they would try, they said, to find employment in Canada; they would faithfully serve in the royal fleet or army. If they returned into parts
under

We will not take into account the summary proceeding of their mobs, tarring and feathering, googing of eyes, and pulling down or burning of houses. And we will pass over their judicial confiscation of property, condemnation to the mines, and the other mild methods of the same kind, used by the Americans, to convince their

under the influence of the congress, they must be vile slaves to the vilest of masters, they should again be forced into rebellion by every act of cruelty and oppression, that could be exercised by designing villains in power over sober citizens.

Zubly, though one of the prime movers of sedition, yet hesitated at independency, declared against it, and on its taking place, left the congress and went home. He had not been long settled, till he was taken up, and put under an arrest by a military order, without any crime assigned, or period fixed to his imprisonment.

Of their manner of carrying on war, take the following example. Captain Whitcomb sallied out with five men from a rebel advanced post in Canada, to beset the road leading to the royal camp. He ordered each man to separate and take a particular tree, with strict injunctions to fire on none but officers; because says he their cloaths and watches only are worth the trouble. He himself fell in with colonel Gordon, and shot him through the back; but as the colonel did not immediately fall, he had not the satisfaction of carrying off the spolia opima.

But can we desire greater proof of their horrid malice to the country of their origin, than their sinking and burning such helpless unarmed trading vessels, as they cannot carry off, and thereby reducing the innocent people concerned in them to poverty and want.

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adversaries of the justice of their cause. We will just take the indulgent case of Christie, begun with deliberation, carried on with cool method and solemnity, while all the human feelings were excited by a scene of sickness and domestic distress, and when resentment had been disarmed by mild submission and modest apology; and we will contrast it with the case of that prince of patriots, the late lord mayor.

Christie writes a decent confidential letter to a relation, in a manner that expresses fully the candour of the times. It is intercepted: no person is found named in it, nor indeed any party described, in a manner that an honest modest man would apply to himself or his friends. No other crime is alledged; yet he is put under an arrest, while confined by sickness. Under pretence of securing him, his house is filled with armed men; and, by a refinement in tyranny, he is made to pay his guards liberally for watching him. By a solemn decision, he, as a friend to order, under the name of fine, is made to contribute largely to the cause of sedition; and in affecting to moderate the punishment of his crime into banishment, they contrive to expunge

punge the numerous debts which they owed him, spoil him of his property, and drive him from his business.

In the other case, a dissipated profligate defrauds an hospital, cheats his banker, ruins his tradesmen, deserts his wife, insults the legislature, affronts his king, and blasphemes his God. — Were decency in repute, such a fellow would be despised and abhorred; had the laws any authority, or vigour, they would have spewed him out; did the king harbour the resentment ascribed to him, and had he such power, he would long ago have suffered.—What has happened? A noble peer, as it is said, has let himself so far down, as to cloathe the fraudulent bankrupt with a sham qualification for a seat in parliament, that his impudence may have a full field for exertion, and that he may utter his obscenity before the nation. The cobbler snatches the loaf from his family, nay deprives himself of his beloved porter, that this idol of the crowd may wallow in eleemosynary, revelling, and debauchery. He becomes the chief magistrate of the capital, confers and takes away, as he pleaseth, honours and characters from his fellow-patriots and help-

mates in the glorious cause of anarchy. The members of the legislature must receive into their number the very insolent blasphemer, whom they had expelled as unworthy, and when they speak of him, must mention him by the name of the right honourable member. The king, libelled and insulted by him, addresses him by the title of well-beloved, and must receive him with complaisance, as often as he pleaseth to appear before him, to present affronting libels upon his government, and pretended grievances, from the scum of the people, which he himself has first suggested to them.

All this I blame not ; in one sense, I am proud of it. It shews that government is mild, and the constitution free. But can tyranny be consistent with it? Needs there any other proof than this comparison, that Britain enjoys liberty, that America is plunging herself deep in slavery? Power is best preserved by the arts, by which it has been originally gained. A government, like that, which is rising in America, founded in falsehood *, and cemented with violence, must be secured by oppression.

But

* To the many instances, which have already been published, of the total stop put to the circulation of truth
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But the infatuation in favour of the opposition in America to the just rights of parliament, is so blended with blind prejudice and selfish ambition, as to resist equally the force of argument, and the contempt of ridicule. Ask any of these friends of America, what purpose they have in view, when they express their joy at the success of the rebels? The prospect of a French war, the defeat of the military, the scalping and googing of the soldiers, the persecution and ruin of the friends of government, and all the desultory cruelty of their mobs, without blushing, they answer, it

in America, by preventing all private correspondence, and restraining the press, as if the people were not to be trusted with the real state of things, or the knowledge of facts, and only a few were to think and act for them, we will add the following:

When general Waterbury was taken prisoner on the lakes, he expressed his great surprize at the active bravery of the British seamen; for, says he, we were positively assured and believed, that none, below the degree of an officer, would make the least degree of resistance against us.

Drayton, the present chief judge of Carolina was originally a candidate for court favour, and only became a patriot, by being disappointed of promotion. This man, in a solemn charge to the grand jury, upwards of two months after the battle of Long Island, roundly affirms that the king's troops were worsted there. Nor is a single item circulated at Charles-Town, but what is favourable to the rebel cause.

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is all to promote the glorious cause of liberty. Ask them, if America can expect from the deliberations of a few recreant ambitious lawyers, pimps, cheats, and atheists, a code of more equal laws than they may enjoy by the British constitution? They entertain not the least doubt of it. Repeat the question; and ask, what political security, what mutual faith, can be expected in their new governments, where religion, as it respects the state, is abolished, the moral attributes of the Deity passed over, and the whole deliberative, executive, and judicial powers thrown into the hands of one particular body*? It is the perfection of social freedom, and social happiness. Observe to them the probable consequences of a foreign war, in the present state of our finances; they exult in the hope of thus bringing Britain to the beck of America. Ask, how they can lend their wishes and opinions to a cause, which aims at the ruin of their country? Let their country be ruined, so America vindicate independence. Doth not the allegiance due to that established government of their

* For all these, see the new constitution framed for Pennsylvania.

country, which maintains and protects them, raise at times some qualms, to disturb their enthusiastic rant for opposition ; they owe no allegiance to a government which they dislike, or, it is the minister only, whom they oppose. Bid them, among all the ostensible men of the nation, chuse a minister more favourable to the views of rebellion ; there is Chatham. You have then forgotten the story of his hob-nails ; aye, but he is a great man. What will vindicate the subject, for taking arms against the laws ; taxation exercised in the lowest degree, and mildest manner, provided one says he is afraid of what may follow. Must king and parliament consult every little colony, on the making of war, establishing a manufacture, or granting a bounty ; they may of themselves do all this ; but no colony shall be obliged to contribute to the expence, unless it pleaseth. Do you reply, that the welfare and even being of the empire may thus be brought into danger, unless a controuling power, in such cases, be lodged somewhere ; be it so, rather than Taxation stalk abroad, without his 'squire, Representation. Ask them, whether their families and concerns

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run not some risk in the shock? What are their private feelings or interest, to America victorious? Will they mend their condition, by getting America instead of Britain for their mistress; the congress, instead of parliament, for their sovereign? They believe not, but still they can comfort themselves in the advancement of America. In short, America is to be independent, whether reason permits it or not *. There is a magic in the words
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* This is from the vain hope of seeing America become immediately an empire, that for grandeur and extent, shall throw contempt on the so much celebrated Orbis Romanus. But that America, separated from Britain, will ever deserve the name of empire, is far from my expectation. The British money brought into it, by last war, the British government, though defective in it, the British commodities, five millions lent them to carry on their trade, a ruinous monopoly of the British market, a trade extending over the whole world, under protection of the British flag, an universal evasion of customs and imposts, all gave a lustre and brilliancy to the continent, which has sunk down with the connection from which it arose. Every branch of trade, even the sale of their piratical prizes, is against them; their good friends, the Dutch and French, impose on them what prices they please, and give such as they think fit. Their silver and gold have been exchanged for powder and ball. Impositions, cruel, partial, and unheard of in other states, have already clipped the wings of liberty and wealth, probably never again to grow.

Representation and Taxation joined together, and in the phrase, "every man is his

It is true, like the Romans, whom they affect to imitate, and hope to excel, they have begun their empire in robbery and theft; but where shall we find among them the Roman continency, parsimony, courage, and love of their country? Their new government is founded on ingratitude to Britain, and mutual persecution; Rome owed nothing to a parent state, and within itself was a family of brothers. Rome, after its way, was remarkable for piety and devotion; they, at their very outset, have discarded all national religion, and stripped their Deity of every attribute, which can merit reverence or worship. Rome, in its government, had powers, which checked each other, and long preserved the freedom of the people; they have thrown all the deliberative, judicial, and executive powers of government, into the hands of one body, which must ever be ruled by one or two demagogues, who will consult the dictates of ambition, oftener than those of liberty.

The present exports of America in grain, which is her chief staple, arises equally from an inattention, which is daily lessening in Europe, for that necessary of life, and the circumstance of America being in that state of population, which enables her to cultivate her soil, while she has no manufacturers to feed. She can add little to her present exportation, because almost every fertile spot, and she has many that are not so, is now in full cultivation; and we may affirm, that all the corn fields within the thirteen provinces, are not capable of maintaining above ten millions of people. Suppose her population so far advanced, and her timber, which is her next staple article, cut down: instead of exporting, she must import corn, if indeed she has any thing to pay for it; or rather she will keep her population within her ability to maintain it. But a great proportion of her
present

his own legislator," that makes up every defect. And if they would acknowledge this enchantment in their attachment to the cause of rebellion, and not pretend to give a reason for it, nothing could be said. They are objects of compassion. In a still higher concern, men love darkness rather than light; and is it to be wondered, if they prefer licentiousness, anarchy, and slavery, to legal freedom?

Never before did sentiment run so wide of common sense. Some, indeed, will in general, allow that colonies, which have been nourished, protected, and favoured by the parent state, are not at liberty to

present exportation is rice, produced by the labour of slaves, an unhealthy employment, requiring constant supplies of foreign inhabitants. And not taking this into account, the life of man in America is shorter than in Europe. On what grounds then could that firebrand Franklin have gone, when fancying America, in less than a century, would contain an hundred millions of people? Does population, in any place, keep pace with calculations; calculations made for times of longevity and simplicity, when there was no disease, no fermented or spirituous liquors, no loathsome distemper that attacked nature in her first stamina, no luxury to confine to himself the care of the individual, no oppressive master to damp the very wish for posterity. This we say, without making allowance for those internal squabbles, quarrels, divisions, and emulations, of which American saints are as capable as other men.

shake off their dependence, just when it suits their purposes; but then a trifling tax upon tea, with the dreadful consequences, which vapourish melancholy or intriguing ambition can deduce from it, is good and sufficient cause for convulsing both countries to their foundations; and if the ruin of one or both follow, the secret influence in the cabinet is alone to blame. If it be observed, that almost all the present flaming friends of America, in opposition, have acted, at different times, under this supposed influence, and against the agitated rights of America, and therefore ought to be despised for their meanness, and abhorred for their want of principle; present opposition, like the crown, fills up all flaws, absolves all crimes, can change a cheat into a patriot, a coward into an hero, ———'s private resentment exalt into public virtue, the timidity of ——— into love of his country, over ———'s popish bishop throw a veil; and even Burke's declaratory bill wrap in oblivion.

Let us suppose a skilful seaman, embarked on board a ship, in which he has considerable property. He sees, or pretends to see, an heavy storm brewing, bids
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the master or pilot take notice of it; and points to a safe harbour to leeward, with which he is acquainted, and which he assures them, they may reach in good time. He intreats, he begs, he protests, in vain; the master is determined to keep the sea, and gives orders to make sail accordingly. Here the case is stated as strongly for opposition, as they could wish; they are men of property, they are skilful statesmen, they mean only the welfare of their country; and the ministry is foolish and headstrong.—The storm comes on, the master is alarmed, his orders are contradictory and confused, the danger grows extreme. If our skilful seaman had the mind of our opposition, he would go about with a sharp knife, and sily cut the tiller rope and standing rigging, that the ship might drive at once on shore, and be dismasted and wrecked. Far from this, he is the most active person on board, gives the advice of a pilot, and does the work of a sailor, goes about, examines the rigging, sets up the stays, makes sail to get round the nearest head-land, that she may have room to drive, till the storm abate. Similar should be the conduct of even the greatest enemy
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to the measures of administration; and it will be the conduct of every good man, in a struggle, in which Britain contends with sons of ingratitude, for every thing valuable or honourable.

Nothing is more common with the friends of America, than to allow in argument, that the northern colonies, in particular, have a spice of turbulence and disobedience in their composition; and indeed, since the present troubles began, they have given such disgusting specimens of a disposition at the same time turbulent and cowardly, that, in the middle colonies, it is common among the people to wish, that there might be a wall as high as heaven, to separate them from such unprincipled boasters. But, say their friends, though their designs be apparent enough, though their conduct has been precipitate and unwarrantable; yet even the pretence of liberty has something noble in it; Britain has taken improper steps to correct their ill humours, and that white-washes all their preceding ill conduct, and makes them good and loyal subjects, as if nothing had happened; nay makes, what was before disobedience and a crime, become public spirit,

spirit, and actions noble and meritorious.—
 This is absurd enough to be not very comprehensible. Let us illustrate it by a familiar example. One school-boy finds another asleep, and robs him of his hat; the hat is challenged, the property ascertained, and the culprit brought before the master, who orders to him to be horsed for correction. No, says the culprit, Sir, you understand not your duty, I must instruct you; the scholar must teach the master, agreeably to the rule established by America for Britain. The offending part or limb ought only to be punished; and though I myself perfectly know how it happened, if I had a mind to tell; yet it does not appear to you, whether I snapped at the hat with my teeth, snatched it off with my right or with my left hand, or only kicked it off with my foot, and fairly and honestly picked it up afterwards. And even were you acquainted with every circumstance of the matter, horsing or flogging is by no means the proper retribution. You ought to have given me cake and sugar-plumbs, and praised me for a good, sober, honest, boy. Because you have not done this, I resolve you to be a cruel, oppressive, unnatural

natural monster; and that your decision has changed my act of robbery into a brave, honest, sober action; and in return for your attempt to correct me, I will raise a mutiny among your scholars, you shall be divested of your rod of office, nor shall one of us pay even the wages, that are already due to you. It is plain, that this is a mere parody of the quibbling subterfuges used about the destruction of the tea. Ever since 1766 have the men of Boston been advancing by perceptible steps, from sedition to rebellion. But government, in attempting to check them by the hasty Canada bill, and to punish them, by shutting up Boston port, without any change on their side, except from a less degree of violence to a greater, has made them all good and loyal subjects, and itself a mass of detestable tyranny and cruelty. It would make Indignation with herself armed with a whip of scorpions, when, in an inflammatory American news-paper, one column is filled with a most deplorable declamation on British tyranny, which was never felt, and two or three following columns with descriptions of runaway British servants, adorned with iron collars, and other badges
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of slavery.—It is also worthy of being remarked, that these men, who are contending so nobly for the natural equality of mankind, hold near half a million of negroes in perpetual bondage*.

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* One of the great crimes committed, by administration, against the majesty of America, is encouraging their slaves to revolt.—Slaves are bound to their masters by no tie but force. Citizens are bound to their country by the laws, by personal engagement, either actual or implied, by benefits received in maintenance, education, rank, relations, family, by protection. The citizen, who rebels, and takes arms against his country, is infinitely more criminal, than the slave, who escapes from, or rises against, the tyranny of his master; if indeed there be any crime in this last, except that which has been created by an arbitrary edict of the master, in which the interest or feelings of the slave were never consulted. The rebellion of America, against the laws and rights of the mother-country, therefore, cuts off every pretence of complaint, for their slaves having been stirred up against them. Further, one of the chief pleas, in favour of America's rebellion, is the extension of natural equality produced by it. That this will be the effect, we deny: but let us suppose it; why should this privilege of natural equality reach the hardened, unfeeling, licentious tyrant, and not comprehend also the bowed-down beaten slave? Must we rail for liberty, and in the contest ruin thousands, and turn order upside down, to confine her with the turbulent, unruly, cruel, oppressive, enslaving, designing part of mankind, and exclude the meek and suffering, the clanking of whose chains so painfully invoke her aid. Perish all such partial, selfish, slavish notions!

Akin to this is the complaint of the savages having been stirred up against them. And as the preceding is

But for impudence and falshood, commend me to that part of the American declaration

false in principle, so is the present in fact. People, that are themselves such excellent tar-and-featherers, incendiaries, bush-fighters, scalpers, googers, and mutilators, need not, it is true, call in the help of barbarians; yet one of their first essays in rebellion, was an attempt to bribe the Indians to assassinate their superintendants or agents; and, as appears in the minutes of the congress, they endeavoured to gain them over to their party, long before administration believed there would be any occasion for their help. And it is well known, that the rebels boasted of having numbers of them in their camp at Boston, in the middle of 1775. Five of them, who had served there, were taken afterwards in the fight on lake Champlain. April 19th, a serjeant and three soldiers of the 47th were scalped at Lexington. Early in 1776, several marines belonging to a sloop of war were scalped in Georgia. Whether these things were done by savage Indians, or savage provincials, will not much change the complexion of the story.

Some time about the beginning of 1776, the Moravian converts among the Indians were solicited by the congress agents, to take up the hatchet against the king of Great Britain. This their deputies in their name positively refused, and requested the agents to deliver the following message from the Indian women to the American women: When we were heathens, we consecrated our sons to the god of war; now that we are become Christians, we consecrate them to the prince of peace; we would recommend to you to follow the example."

On the other hand, in July 1776, a party from the rebel camp were surpris'd on the Illinois by the Indians. They made towards their boat. The Indians called to them to surrender; they should receive no ill treatment, but

claration of war, which affirms that the possession of Canada was, by the ministry, insisted on, to enable them to enslave America by statutable tyranny; unless we except what their writers for independency affirm, that they were dragged into the last war by their connection with Britain *.—

They

but be carried prisoners to the British camp. In their attempt to get off, the Indians killed and scalped six of them, and carried their trophies to Carleton. He severely reprimanded them, and forbid the practice; they promised, but went off in disgust. The rebels returned afterwards to the spot where their fellows had been scalped and buried, and erected for them the following pompous inscription.

“ Beneath this humble sod lie the remains of captain Adams, lieutenant Cuthbertson, and four privates of the 6th Pennsylvania regiment, not hirelings but patriots. They fell not in battle but unarmed, were base-ly murdered and inhumanely scalped by the vile emissaries of the once just but now abandoned kingdom of Britain.

Sons of America rest quiet here.

Britannia blush, Burgoyne let fall a tear.

And tremble Europe's sons with savage race;

Death and revenge await you with disgrace.”

When our army seized the post afterwards, the soldiers were requested not to destroy this. They answered they were too well acquainted with rebel falsehood to regard or resent their blustering rant. And now the monument stands uninjured in British quarters; while the king's statue has been ignominiously thrown down and melted into musket balls in the polished city of New York.

* Let a man read, in America's address to Britain, the horrid description of Popery, and compare it with the

They affect to forget, that a dispute between them, and the Canadians alone, occasioned the quarrel between the two mother states; and that the possession of Canada, purchased for them by Britain with immense treasures, and the cession of sugar colonies, perhaps of more immediate profit to Britain than all America taken together, have in them enabled those to contend for empire with the most wealthy and warlike people of the world, who could not before defend themselves from a few ragamuffin French Indian traders, assisted by a small part of the refuse of the French army. It is well known that for thirty years back, perhaps more, it has been a common speech in America, Give us once possession of Canada, and Britain may then Before these troubles began, a French writer could observe, that Britain should have left Canada in the hands of France, to be a drain for her men and money, and a check upon the turbulent colonies of New England. Nor can a reflecting man

the fair words which are given to Papists in the address to Canada; and he will have no bad rule by which to judge of their candour, veracity, and cause of complaint.

doubt,

doubt, but that if Canada had continued subject to France, our colonies would now have been industriously and peaceably employed in increasing their own and the wealth of their mother country, instead of straining and cracking every nerve of their young and tender frame in a fruitless struggle for dominion : a struggle, which may indeed hurt their protector ; but to themselves will assuredly lose every valuable purpose of society, liberty, security and wealth.—Otherwise it is a struggle worthy of a people, who say they have no king or superior on this side heaven (but the King of heaven in their new forms of government they have disclaimed) ; that ruin and reconciliation are nearly related ; that they, virtuous people and favoured of heaven as they are, ought to despise and dread a connection with corrupt devoted Britain. Such, at least, is the language held forth to them by their ambitious leaders.

It is worthy of being remarked here, that in the last war, undertaken for them, they supplied the French sugar colonies with provisions, enabled them to set out swarms of privateers, which yearly captured near half a million British property, and

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oppose various powerful armaments sent against them ; when they would have been almost obliged to surrender at discretion, but for the scandalous flags of truce sent from America, and the assistance given thence through the medium of the Dutch and Danes.

To vindicate Britain in the actual exercise of the right of taxation, in imposing the stamp duty, which is the pretended foundation of the present disputes, I shall here relate what has been told me by one, who believes, he gave administration the first hint of the tax.—Some time after Britain, in the peace of 1763, had sacrificed many of her valuable conquests in every quarter of the globe, to procure security to America, by the possession of Canada, a person, in office, observed in company, where this gentleman was, the immense load of debt, which Britain had incurred in the contest ; and the heavy peace establishment, which she was obliged to keep up, when every branch of trade, and every article of consumption, except that, which America, the chief gainer, dealt in, were already loaded with taxes, more than they were well able to bear : that this being the
situation

situation of Britain, America, now secured at such an expence, and increasing fast in trade and wealth, ought to take from Britain upon herself, at least the burden of her own establishment: that administration (remark that Taxation had not then received, from herald Chatham, his coat of arms, Representation) had in view an application to parliament, to lay a tax upon America for such a reasonable purpose; but that they were then at a loss to point out a mode of taxation, easy in the execution, sufficient for the purpose, and little burdensome to the country which was to raise it *.

This gentleman, being a native of America observed in reply, that about 1755, the province of the Massachussets, having a sum of money to raise by tax, to pay some public debt, laid a stamp duty upon all conveyances, and other papers, respecting property, which no body felt, or com-

* In any other but American assemblies, and congresses, the impudence and falsehood would be fatal, which affirm that the stamp duty was the first tax, that parliament ever attempted to lay upon them; though it be proved to a demonstration, that from the first settlement of America it has been a constant object both of parliamentary taxation and legislation.

plained against, and which, in a few years, having paid off the debt, was repealed. Soon after this Granville proposed the stamp duty; and having in vain waited to see if the Americans would propose any alternative, procured the passing of the act. Opposition alone could find slavery in the design, and treachery alone contrive to bring the authority of parliament into contempt, by procuring the repeal of it. In the mean time, men, acquainted with the situation of the colonies, would rejoice to see a stamp duty enacted, which, by a proper index in each office, might authenticate deeds, and prevent forgery.

Yet the partial imposition of taxes on America, and the steps necessary to enforce it, which rebellion obliged government to take, have all been construed into acts of wanton oppression and tyranny over the most sanctified, virtuous, and loyal citizens on the earth. Their refusing to pay their debts *, their hunting their creditors with mobs,

* In that celebrated pamphlet, called Common Sense, first published at Philadelphia Nov. 1775, which is the political standard of the friends of America, from which they learn to echo the corruption of Britain, and the matchless valour of America, there is the following remarkable

mobs, abusing and beating them, their destruction of the property of their fellow-subjects, their turning over to the fury of the mob every active friend of government, their disarming the troops, seizing the public stores, shutting the courts of justice, their mutinous remonstrances, embodying their militia, collecting ammunition, open opposition to every act of parliament, which they affected to dislike; all which, and much more, preceded the first languid attempts of government to recover order and law among them, are passed over, as if they had contributed nothing to provoke or force Britain into action. Nay, though with a silly parade of solemnity, they had proclaimed war against Britain, six months before that act passed, which cuts off their commerce, and which indeed was only a counter part of their own resolution of non-importation and exportation, though they

markable sentence, to which it will be difficult to affix any meaning, besides a hint for confiscating the debts and property of the British merchants in America. The sentence neither connects itself with what goes before or follows after; and for that cause appears more like a hint thrown out, to work its own way among the people. —“ There are reasons to be given, in support of independence, which men should rather privately think of, than be publicly told of.”

had first erected a mock court of admiralty, to vindicate their pirates in seizing on the property of the state; yet that statute is a most villainous act of tyranny, and would bear out the oppressed, peaceable, and virtuous Americans, if they sold themselves to France, and stirred up hell, to help them to ruin tyrannical, barbarous Britain. If a traiterous master of a transport betrays his trust, or a treacherous pilot leads a British ship into a rebel port, if a coward, sculking behind a wall, assassinate a soldier, it is all heroism and bravery. But if one of their army of the Lord falls, in an attack upon the king's troops, it is foul murder; it is robbery for men, starving in the midst of plenty, to supply their necessity in an enemy's country. In short, fain would they appropriate to themselves all the villany, cruelty, and oppression of the blackest combination, and scarce leave to their adversaries the liberty of complaining of the effects of these diabolical qualities *.

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* Too long has abused religion been made answerable for all the dark plots of superstition, for all the violence of enthusiasm, against the rights and feelings of human nature. Every act of oppression, every murder, and assassination, committed by these pretenders to her character, have been placed to her account; and every villany

By thus attempting to fix the imputation
of oppression and cruelty upon Britain,
their

villany and crime, which have laid humanity bleeding at her feet, have been ascribed to her influence. Large is the share of this abuse ascribed to her ministers, and they have been held up to the abhorrence of their fellow-citizens, as if the separation and institution of them, in society, were but another name for the misery, suffering, and slavery of mankind; nor can a modern book or pamphlet be composed, without a lamentable digression on the tyranny of priestcraft.

It is high time for the next valuable possession of mankind, liberty, to come in for its share of censure. The present theatre of confusion, America, filled and actuated, it is said, with the most exalted sentiments of liberty, and the natural equality of mankind, is exhibiting such numerous scenes of horror, oppression, inhuman murders, and unrelenting cruelty, in every possible dress, that one might almost fancy, the inhabitants of that continent had become to each other infernal monsters, without feeling, without compassion, without one drop of the milk of humanity, to tell their origin from, or vindicate their claim to, human nature.—Shocking have been the scenes ascribed to priests and religion; but shocking as they have been, the scenes, which patriots and liberty have, in a short period, produced in America, need not decline the horrid contest for superior barbarity. We may therefore expect, that patriots and liberty shall at last become terms of reproach, and juggle priests and religion from their long established station of abuse. Analogy certainly requires it. Religion is no longer a bugbear; priest is become a term of contempt; and both, by one daring stroke of politics, have been annihilated in the new American empire of liberty. Since Wilkes and patriot have meant the same, liberty has raised a fermentation, even among the dregs of the people, and is now the only word of incantation, that

their design is to make the deluded people believe themselves forced thereby into independency. But the man must be ignorant of the history of the northern colonies, who knows not, that their leading men have had the idea of independency constantly before them for many years past. Their religious tenets, their political institutions, their common conversation, the

can rouse this age to action, the only quarry worthy of the satyrift or politician, the only fibboleth to mark a party, or distinguish a faction. And it is proper, to mark the observation in time, that, as, unhappily for the virtue of mankind, has happened in the case of religion, we may not suffer ourselves to be ridiculed or abused out of the substance of liberty; because an impostor, in her form, is now perpetrating every horrid act of cruelty in America, and forcing the heart of benevolence and humanity to deny all acquaintance with, and knowledge of, such an hell-born fury. Why should the immaculate characters of Burke, Barré, and Bull, and the rest of that band, which grace the present age, why should their noble tenets, which look so steadfastly towards the rights, the honour, and interests of their country, be ever confounded in one common censure, with the persons and opinions of such men as the Becketts and Lauds of other times?—The author was always at a loss what to think of Burke's eloquence, till he read a string of insipid definitions, entitled his Sublime and Beautiful. It struck him like a certain undetermined noise, of which neither the quarter whence it came, nor the tendency, could be easily ascertained. But in that celebrated book, we are told that eloquence is a combination of splendid sounding nothings, incapable of meaning or discrimination.

very

very terms used by them, to express every thing relating to their province, have long or rather constantly tended this way. But the man must shut his eyes, who ever since the cession of Canada, cannot discern the progress of their ambition. To pass over every other circumstance, let them declare, what they think the men of Boston meant, in 1768, when, in an insolent invective published against government, they exhort the people of the province, carefully to provide themselves with arms and ammunition, for that they understood, some people entertained some apprehension of a war with France.

Ever since the outrages of the northern provinces became a subject of serious consideration, the author, judging from the whole tenour of their conduct, the natural and constant progress of such disputes, the imbecillity of administration, and the daring treacherous conduct of opposition, which encouraged them, has constantly affirmed, that intriguing men among them, who either had little to lose, or preferred a precarious ambition to the quiet enjoyment of their property, would continue to push things to extremity, with a view of setting
up

up for themselves. And accordingly their plan for a confederacy was prepared early in 1775, and the articles, wherein they affected to look towards a reconciliation, were clogged with demands, such as the expences of their rebellion, and the rebuilding of Charles-Town, to which they knew Great Britain would never submit *.— It has been his fixed opinion, that let Britain yield every contested claim, and give up every disputed point, still new de-

* The patriots in opposition are constantly bawling out, withdraw your troops from America, repeal the disagreeable statutes, and be reconciled to that peaceable people. Yet, if they know any thing of the designs and wishes of the leading men in America, they must know that they abhor every thing that looks towards quiet. They are not yet mounted high enough in the car of ambition; nor are their mobs yet tired of the effects of their enthusiasm. Chatham's plan was as much reprobated and ridiculed as North's, in America; nay, it was said of him, that his notions of liberty were futile and contracted. The head of another band of patriots is said to pay immense sums for intelligence. Let him declare, if in all his communications there be a single article in favour of reconciliation. The leaders of America wish to draw out the present war into a length sufficient to train them up for their fancied empire. In short, the advice of opposition for peace is just as wise, as it would be to exhort a man, to suffer his hands to be tied behind his back, as the readiest and best way to get the better of a little ungrateful spiteful imp, who, without provocation, had fallen on him, and continued to assault him.

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mands would be made upon her indulgence, still new objections would be formed against her rights. And on this account, he has earnestly wished, that Britain had been lavish, and even mean, in her concessions; because he is persuaded, they would not have contented America in her enthusiastic pursuit after independency and empire; but such a conduct would have effectually separated the well-meaning in opposition, from those traitors, who, had they but their rage against those in office satiated, and their private ambition indulged, care not if their country be ruined in the struggle, who, in concert with the ambitious demagogues in America, just let as much of their plan appear to the vulgar, as will keep the flame alive, and draw both countries on insensibly into ruin *.

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* I distinguish in opposition betwixt the well-meaning and factious. By factious, I understand all having personal dislike to the king or the ministers, and all who want to confound affairs, in hopes, that the perplexity attending such a situation may induce the crown to solicit their assistance. These men would exult to see their country fall under the management of their rivals; nor value they what destruction overtakes her, if they themselves can only scramble up to the top of the ruin, and find their enemies overwhelmed under them. If their ill-omened conjectures turn out false in the issue, like
Jonas

Could a proper umpire be found to divide between America and Britain, to each
their

Jonas they fret, and are ready to call providence to an account for not executing their malice on their country. Nine months have elapsed since the time set, in the lower house, by a certain simple-fighted Peer, for the erection of the French standard within sight of its walls. And will any doubt, that his military skill would willingly have co-operated to bring the event about, or that he curses not the inactivity of the French, for failing to fulfil his prophecy. That same hero, enquiring into the conduct of Arnold's fleet on the Lakes, hung his head, when told, that the whole squadron could not make an impression on one small British schooner; but immediately brightened up, and said there were hopes, when it was added, that they pointed their guns tolerably. Such men deserve no quarter, and have no claim to be treated with delicacy.

But it is also true, that men of learning, sentiment, and penetration, amiable in their manners, and undesigning in their conduct, are to be found in every quarter of the empire, warm favourers of America. These men have formed in idea a perfection of government, for which Britain and her appendages are not yet fit. Acts of parliament and measures of administration may, no doubt, be found militating with these refined notions; and so fully do they possess these men, that they are apt to execrate every step, though never so necessary, that agrees not exactly with them; and being ignorant of the people, who are the objects of these obnoxious measures, they believe of their merit according to their own candour. Improper measures and unsuccessful wars are incident to the best conducted states; a nation must sit down contented under the effects of them; but for a state to have the most amiable of its members, men on whom it could most depend in a day of trial, take the part of her deadly foes against her,

their proper share of the public debts, so that America might take upon her own funds the satisfaction of particular creditors; Britain, agreeably to doctor Tucker's exhortation, might cheerfully give up the dependency of America, and would be a gainer by the bargain. Then might she suffer her ungrateful children there, without repining, without envy, to make the most of their situation. Or as the Dutch are so industrious in assisting to raise this independent empire in America, suppose we only assigned their money in the funds, to the Americans for payment; and threw besides into the scale our sovereignty over America in full right. The British isles, including Ireland, but once equally incorporated, and free of the burdens contracted in the cause of America, are yet capable of maintaining their rank, and sitting at the head of Europe, were America, in respect of them, become as problematical as Plato's Atalantis, or were it again re-

is alarming and mournful indeed, and almost cuts off the hopes of recovery.—To regain such men to their country, is a glorious purpose. —The author boasts of it, as his chief view in the present work, and shall esteem himself happy if he attains it.

lapsed into that state of poverty and barbarism, in which Britain originally found it.

If what is here written, respecting the subordination of America be reckoned worthy of animadversion, I doubt not to hear of the mournful effects of ministerial influence and arbitrary power, exercised among that virtuous people. To this I shall reply, that this complaint from opposition, from men, who would themselves be ministers if they could, ought to have small weight. That a minister is necessary to carry on the public business, and necessary that he should have an influence in it, even when it respects fearful America. If he does wrong, while any public virtue is left among us, he may be brought to an account. When virtue is once entirely lost, the choice of our minister or our tyrant is matter of small importance. Even in this case, of one thing I am certain, that while Britain and Ireland and the colonies continue united, no tyranny or arbitrary government can erect its head, that may be compared either with the burden of a foreign yoke, or the oppression of the aristocracies or tyrannies, under which the empire, on its dissolution, must of necessity be

be crumbled. That Britain and her colonies may continue united and free is the nearest wish of my heart; but that Britain and her colonies may continue united on any terms and in any state, I wish more earnestly, than any thing, which the most sanguine expectation can reasonably form as consequent on their separation.

C H A P. VII.

Strictures on the present Management of the Colonies.

THE supremacy of Britain, over her colonies, without adding liberty, privileges, or security to the colonists, has been more injured by that mock shadow of her constitution, which has been established among them, than by every other circumstance. Mankind is more ruled by names, than man knows or is willing to allow.—The benefit is inconceivable, which the Americans have reaped in the present dispute, only from assuming the name of Whig, and arbitrarily imposing that of Tory on the friends of Great Britain. And yet there are an hundred names,

names, that would have equally well suited both parties ; nor is there any thing in the definition of the two terms, that should give the one so much the advantage over the other. A tory is an easy flow animal, not apt to be alarmed for his country, till he thinks himself in danger, and then he can baffle with the best. A whig hates power in every other hand but his own. He affects to be tremblingly alive to every thing respecting the public. Every exertion of authority not originating with his party, is tyranny accursed. The constitution is a piece of soft wax, to be, from time to time, shaped and moulded according to the changeable views of the party. An alteration, made to favour them, is no longer to be retained, than while it answers that end. Mobs are excellent avengers of liberty, when they are not in power ; but must be crushed, by riot acts, with more than Asiatic despotism, when they hold the reins. A whig excels in chemistry ; for he can draw the most dreadful consequences from the most simple occurrence, and from a lap dog can extract treason. Would not the real friend of his country, wish to be found something different from both ;

both; feeling more sensibly for his country than the first, acting more consistently and generously than the second.—But we return.

We have several corporations in Britain, more populous, and of more intrinsic value, than many of our American colonies; and they enjoy alike, under the controul of parliament, a republican form of government. But they transact their corporation-business in a different manner, give a more modest title to their regulations, and consider themselves as subordinate to the state. And therefore, unless we except some wise resolutions of the common council of London, we have not heard of any of their regulations set up in opposition to an act of parliament. But in the colonies, under the sacred name of an Assembly, affecting the forms and stile of the supreme legislature, nothing is so common as a rude censure, and rebellious contradiction of a parliament, with which they imagine themselves to be on a footing of equality. Hear for example an American delegate speak of the suspension of a New York assembly, for refusing to provide quarters for troops sent to protect them. “ Observe a phenome-

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non in the political world. One free and independent legislature presumes to suspend the powers of another, free and independent as itself." May parliament ever meet with the same contemptuous treatment, as often as it submits to the discussion of others, a thing which it can regulate itself.

Reason, it is true, may exist, in a few or one, as full and perfect as in a thousand, on the one as well as on the other side of the Atlantic; and parliament in particular, has enacted many absurd improper laws. But on the operation and extension of the authority of parliament, depend the liberty and welfare of the empire. While therefore parliament regulates the affairs of all, it is entitled to the reverence and obedience of all; and to preserve this reverence, its forms and stile should be peculiar to itself. Men will not look abroad for a parliament, when, they think, they have one at home, in whose honours and dignity they themselves may share. And among no set of people besides, is a lust for power so apt to shew itself, as among those who are the representatives, and pretend to be the servants of the people in our colonies.

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Their numbers stifle their sentiments, sharpen their passions, and divide the odium. Even in the British constitution, it is a circumstance extremely fortunate for freedom, that the popular part of the legislature, while essential to the forming of laws, and imposition of taxes, can make out no claim to the executive or judicial powers of government. And the repeated attempts, which, since the present troubles began, opposition has been daily making, in parliament, to thrust itself into the operations of war, calling for returns, and prying into every manœuvre of our generals, if complied with, prognosticate no desirable change in the constitution. Parliament should be cautious how, at first, it encourages the crown in making war ; but when once the sword is drawn, the management of it should be left to those whose province it is. What made Marlborough successful but an absolute command over the treasure and strength of the nation. Pit, in his days of glory, was the most absolute monarch that ever reigned since the time of Cromwel. War, in general, supposes, demands, a dictatorial power ; nor will it submit to the selfish

cavilling of a pitiful place-hunting senator, or a discontented reformed officer.—Returning from our digression, we may conclude, as long as other bodies use the forms, and affect the style of the sovereign legislature, they will also share in the reverence due to it, and justle its authority, to the hurt and injury of the state. Subordination here is as necessary for the purposes of liberty as law.

I profess myself a votary of liberty ; and I should take shame to myself, if I were capable of a single sentiment destructive of her rights. But I shall never mistake a colony assembly for her temple, till I observe more sentiment, less selfishness, less party, less intrigue, less ignorance among them. These sacred representatives are apt to consider privilege as absolving them from an attention to common sense ; as empowering them to tyrannize over their constituents, the very persons, in whose names they form their claims. Generous freedom would, if possible, embrace all mankind alike, and exclude none, but the criminal, from the equal participation of her blessings. She makes no personal distinctions, claims no exclusive pri-

privileges, and seeks the happiness of individuals only in the prosperity of the community. Her phantom, modern mock-patriotism, opposes the privilege of a representative, or servant, to the good of his constituent, the advantage of a colony to the interest of the empire, the charter of a corporation to general improvement; nay, would make the laws and religion of her country truckle to the ungoverned licentiousness of an individual, and call the abuse by the sacred name of liberty.

The colony assemblies have been so long permitted to regulate all their own, and even many matters that affect the general good of the empire, without controul, and almost as sovereign legislators, a dignity which they are all fond of assuming, that now they take every check amiss; and at every turn are ready to cry out, privilege! privilege! In all antiquity, we can hardly number up ten men, worthy of the name of legislators; but in our days, they start up by scores, often from the needle or hammer, in every corner of our little colonies; and the privileges, claimed by the parliament of Britain, are trifles compared with such as some of them are ready on every

occasion to assume. Hence it is, that they are so generally managed by some intriguing ambitious demagogue, or some purse-proud upstart, to the total destruction of all police, to a criminal inattention to every thing that respects the community. In one thing only do they shew address, opposing every improvement that originates from authority, under the pretence of its infringing their privileges.

Doubtless the members of any society may reasonably be supposed to feel most their own wants, to know best their own natural advantages. We will not dispute either these feelings, or this knowledge. We will only suppose, and will not be afraid of having it granted to us, that they have not always discernment sufficient to chuse the best method of correcting those errors, even of which they are sensible, or of improving the police, under the defects of which they labour; that a number of little colonies, left to follow each the dictates of their own narrow politics, will be apt to encroach upon the interests of their neighbour, and even attempt things, which may affect the general welfare. A notable instance of this was shewn in 1768
by

by the venerable assembly of St. Christopher's. They then laid a tax upon every vessel from Britain, Ireland, and America, under the title of powder and gun money, which in some cases exceeded thirty pounds sterling, and in particular instances one third of the freight. The consequence was, trade was at first distressed, and necessities became scarce. This again raised the demand; and to put perhaps a 1000 l. into the treasury, the island paid in advanced prices above 20,000 l. extraordinary, which might have been avoided by a trifling internal tax. This was done when freight, as it always will be, while American vessels bring stores, and British only carry away sugars, was a losing employment for most ships in that trade.

Indeed, well may it be deemed a matter of surprize, that Britain, which has been improving her constitution, through so many successive ages, should suffer her numerous colonies, each to flounder on from year to year, under the conduct of selfishness, prejudice, and ignorance, through the mazes of legislation, without allowing them a single ray of her acquired experience, to guide them in the way. Why may they

not, with some little necessary, local, or temporary exceptions, be all set down in that improved state of society, to which the mother-country has attained? Why must the framing of a constitution be left to the ignorance and prejudice, and little designs of a few adventurers, that find themselves, by chance, legislators *?

C H A P.

* It is this simplicity of legislation and government, in which lasting general good, and private good can alone be found. It is this simplicity of legislation and government, not the little monopolies or claims of a colony or corporation, for which a good citizen will contend. Various legislatures in the same state is a solecism in society. Society unites into one the reason, the interest, the vigour of many; it therefore supposes a simplicity a unity of management; and nothing has so much injured, and is so likely to fritter down, the strength and exertion of the British empire, as this division of it into distinct legislatures, and separate parcels or communities. I would fain consider myself, not as an Englishman, Scotch, Irish, Pensylvanian, Carolinian, of Barbados, Jamaica, nor under the general term even of American or West-Indian; but, would narrow prejudice permit, as a Briton, member of a state, in which alone law communicates liberty, in which the bent and turn of the constitution are to extend freedom and privilege equally with its influence. But this equal view, this extensive relation, cannot take place, while custom shall continue to check the operation of the power of the supreme legislature in any particular district. To gain the purposes of freedom, security, and strength, one sovereign power must controul all, direct all, and command the force and property of all, to
general

C H A P. VIII.

Present Colony System improved.

IF the colonies must continue to be their
 their own legislators, it is necessary that
 there should be a superintending head, to
 keep each within its due bounds, and to
 guide all their little plans and interests to
 the advantage of the whole. No colony
 regulation, therefore, ought to be final,

general benefit, to public advantage. And as every
 man, upon entering into society, submits the exertion
 of his natural powers to the direction of the laws, seek-
 ing private advantage and happiness, within the pale
 formed around him by a regard for his neighbour, so in
 every well ordered state, every district seeks its advan-
 tage in the general good, and contracts its private
 claims, within the rank and limits prescribed to it by
 the state. In short, in direct opposition to our present
 visionaries in politics, which prefer the man to the
 community, the corporation or colony to the state, the
 individual must be considered as absorbed into the public,
 and the pretensions of the colony as to be found only
 in the common good. Accordingly whenever parlia-
 ment has leisure to discuss the privileges of the corpo-
 ration of London, their opposition, under pretence of
 privilege, in 1777, to man the fleet, which has been
 deemed necessary for public protection, must be deter-
 mined into a crime hardly short of treason, and work a
 more just forfeiture of charter, than has yet happened
 in the course of our history.

and,

and, in matters of trade particularly, should have no effect, till it has undergone a critical examination in parliament, and has been found compatible with the general interest of the empire. Selfish distinctions, personal privileges, and local restrictions, are equally odious to liberty and commerce. Let every local hardship, in the prosecution of the plan, be abrogated, every useful measure extended throughout the empire, that equal law may prevail, and embrace every member of our free state.

There lies a weighty objection against this alteration: the introduction of this new mode of governing the colonies, will throw much new business into the hands of the ministry and parliament, which their present forms are but ill adapted to accelerate, and bring to issue; and for which the latter, particularly, could not possibly find time, without drawing their attention from those great national objects of dogs and partridges, which come under their cognizance every session. There is, therefore, danger, lest parliament neglect the internal œconomy of the colonies, or want leisure to attend seriously and in time to their interest.—To this I answer, that one of the

deliberative branches of the legislature, draws all its splendour and distinction from this hereditary right of legislation; that the members of the other are chosen, in consequence of their own solicitation. Both, therefore, hold their places with the burden of doing their duty. But indeed, the whole might be made easy, and to fall in with the present listlessness in public business, by the appointment of proper committees, and admitting, as we have proposed, delegates from the colonies, who will naturally become members of the committees, and push forward the business of their respective colonies.

Agreeably to this plan of the superintending care of parliament, let every act of provincial legislation go through the present colony forms. Let all the arguments, for and against any new regulation, or abolition of the old, be fairly stated in writing, for the information of parliament, by the consent of the managers on both sides of the question, in the colony legislature. For the decision of the majority, especially, as often happens in our colonies, when blindly led by that most shameless of all tyrants, a designing demagogue, must not
always

always be considered either as the sense of the community, or the edict of truth. If it be a matter of immediate necessity, let the decision of the majority take place for a certain time in the colony, till it can be brought before parliament. Let the sanction of parliament be necessary for every regulation respecting trade, and every perpetual provincial law. It is full time to guard against the absurdity, impropriety, and injury of different opposite jarring legislatures in the state. To prosecute the idea, let the assemblies, in each province, assisted by their best lawyers, review the whole colony acts, and state each with the arguments for and against it, for the inspection and determination of parliament, or at least a committee of it, the colony agents, or representatives in parliament, managing the debates, and carrying the bills through the necessary forms. All provincial regulations should be rendered as simple as possible, and as universally uniform as their various circumstances will permit.

Perhaps I may be told, that colony agents answer the purpose of representatives, and that the privy council, which puts the last hand to colony acts, may be con-

considered as a committee of parliament, which, equally with our scheme, answers the design of bringing colony regulations before parliament. I shall only reply, that I have heard of agents, who have been useful, and of others, who have acted as partizans of a faction; that in general, they consider the interests of their little spots, as set in opposition to the good of the empire; whereas representatives, deliberating in parliament, must extend their views to the whole state; that the privy council can only generally approve or disapprove of an act, but cannot favour a right minority, or help forward an useful regulation. Parliament then must put the last hand to the police of the colonies.

We have laid down the mode, in which we wish, the colony system were improved, we come next to the object, about which it must be exercised.—Imposts are the great engine of modern policy; and since, in some shape or other, they are necessary in the colonies, and Britain has hitherto exercised a kind of joint legislative authority with the colony assemblies, let us enquire, how both may be most advantageously managed, so as to fall in with the claims

and wants of the enacting sovereign; and the privileges and prejudices of the subordinate contributing colony.

On the supposition of America and Britain continuing united, it was agreed on by all parties, to leave, in general, to Britain, the regulation of the foreign trade of her colonies, though the particular exercise of this right, especially in the tax upon Madeira wine, has been censured in her by her wiser children, and made one of the catalogue of their intolerable grievances. It is indeed surprising in such consummate consistent politicians as the congress, who can, in a line, decide the rights of sovereign and people, and cut asunder the gordian knot of authority and obedience, how they have gone backwards and forwards in their magisterial decisions, concerning Britain's power over their foreign trade. First, she ought to enjoy, of right, a general controul over their transactions with foreigners. Then comes out a decision, declaring her to have no right to intermeddle with their trade in foreign wine, or indeed, to keep them from going to the most convenient market. Again, in their votes, she was complimented with
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the regulation of foreign trade. Lately she is become tyrannical, oppressive, and arbitrary, for not leaving them entirely to their own management and government, as soon as they were pleased to desire it *.

But

* It is curious to remark the jealousy of the Americans of the power of parliament, as if that which was the security of one part of the British dominions could be the ruin of another. If they be Britons, and when it suits their purposes, they are exceedingly apt to claim all the privileges of Britons, then their security is founded in the sovereign influence of parliament. If they be not Britons, let them assume a name, define their relation to the British state, and open the plea, by which, as aliens, they attribute to themselves the privileges and rights of British denizens. But they would rather, that their privileges and police should depend on those ignorant, selfish, interested, combinations among themselves, ycleped assemblies, phantoms of legislatures, than on the sovereign parliament of the state, which can have no bias, unless, if we may be allowed the expression, for general improvement. This prejudice may be natural enough for an assembly-man, but is folly and madness in the mass of the people. It is well known, that, in laws of general import, such a listlessness prevails in assemblies, as prevent them from being ever brought to conclusion, that opposite factions each obstruct improvements that originate from their adversaries, and snatch at every pitiful advantage to get their own little schemes to bear; that if any thing of public benefit passes, these legislators by chance must be bribed with some exemption, or some partial privilege respecting their sacred persons, and that no regulation can be pushed through, which comprehends their order.

In a particular colony, which is now brought to the brink of ruin for want of a well regulated court of Chancery,

But keeping to the general allowed right, we may affirm, that all impositions
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cery, they have been hammering ten years at a law, without coming to a decision, though the king's representative be particularly instructed to co-operate with them, and frequently importunes them to proceed. In a certain colony, lately, a militia bill could not be passed, though deemed essentially wanting, without exempting a branch of the legislature from all duty. In a town lately destroyed by fire, and believed to be done by incendiaries with a design to rob, it was proposed to establish, by a colony act, a nightly watch. It could not pass, without excepting, from the burden, the store-houses belonging to members of assembly, though these were most exposed to accidental and intentional depredations. But what need to multiply instances, when we consider the preference given to the smuggler over the fair trader, the impunity with which all sorts of crimes are committed, through their ill supported impotent police. In short, "every man his own legislator" is a fair founding phrase; but whenever it is reduced to practice in a thin colony or small island, it is only a name for faction, intrigue, selfishness, partiality, disputation. In this case, the interest of the individual, who legislates, is an object that bears a considerable proportion to the whole, and a good law, properly speaking, imposes some burden on, or takes something from the individual, to be repaid him only with the whole community in a public benefit; but man, in common, is not apt to sacrifice his particular concerns to the benefit of his neighbour, or give up a private right or claim to be reimbursed by public utility. In a large state, as Britain, a law can hardly be feigned, that shall sensibly affect the private interest of a number of representatives considerable enough to be heard. In such an assembly, the members will therefore set themselves coolly to the task of legislation, and, in general, determine impartially, as in matter-

on the foreign trade of the colonies, in which I include their intercourse with each other, must be enacted in Britain, as the connecting head of the empire, and be levied in the colonies at the place of importation or consumption. But as one great design of these taxes is the regulation of trade, in order to make them sit easier on the colonies, let them be laid in a manner similar to the like imposts in Britain; or, rather let them, as we have before recommended, take effect in the colonies, only in consequence of their general use and description, and let them be thrown into a fund for supporting the naval force, and commercial garrisons of the empire. We will shew the reasonableness of this by example.

ters not immediately affecting themselves. Even here, we have an exception in the Aristocratical oppressive spirit of our game laws, the drift of which may be considered as a kind of party bribe, to get the country gentlemen to forward public business, in which they are apt to fancy themselves little concerned. And though we can say nothing in its favour, yet would to heaven, a majority to do the kingdom's business, had never cost the people a bribe of greater value.—To conclude, the colonies will never make the proper advances in police and government, while each legislates in dernier resort for itself.

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The Americans are perhaps more concerned in the preservation of Gibraltar and Minorca, than Britain herself; and as their trade, up the Mediterranean, and to the south of Europe, goes in a circle between them and foreigners, in which, by means of smuggling and cunning, Britain has little share, they cannot pretend to say, that their trade is an equivalent for their protection. The like may be affirmed of their fisheries, and the greatest part of their trade to Africa and the West Indies, where the countenance of our forts and squadrons, in a trade generally detrimental to Britain, and even in most articles, except lumber, unnecessary to our sugar-islands, procures them a freedom and security equal with our own traders. Here then lies a proper field for taxation, in which the permission and protection of trade may fairly stand in place of representation.

Let all other colony taxes, even those for the support of their own civil establishments be annihilated. Let an equivalent be laid upon their produce or staple, when imported into Britain, or the place of its consumption, if within the empire, or if for foreign demand, at the port of exportation.

tation: Let the mother-country take upon herself the whole civil and ecclesiastical establishments of the several colonies, and the payment of all salaries. Draughts for salaries and contingent expences should be made upon the Exchequer, and they should be received there as ready money, in part of the payment of the duties laid upon the staple of the colony. By this contrivance, no money needed go out of the treasury, for the support of government in the colonies, the course of exchange between Britain and her colonies, at present fluctuating and disadvantageous, would be fixed at the proper medium; the mother-country would acquire a new and necessary influence over her children; they would be connected to her by a new bond of interest, and be relieved from an inconvenient internal burden *.—In another view, the colonies receive

* Suppose the following arrangement had taken place thirty years ago. Commerce is said to be the best bond by which to connect America with Britain. Suppose it; that commerce must be regulated by some authority, and it must exclude smuggling. With this view, let the external, or foreign trade, be confined to certain ports, and be carried on in vessels of a certain description. The ports might be Halifax, Quebec, Rhode Island, New York, a port in the Delaware, near the Capes, ac-

receive in Britain the price of their staple,
and there it is easiest to pay their taxes

cessible to our shipping, another similarly situated in Chesapeake Bay, one in South Carolina, one in Georgia, St. Augustine. Vessels employed in the external trade should be brigantines, snows, and ships; in the coasting trade, sloops and schooners. Security should be given for each for their employment in a fair trade, which should be forfeited, on conviction of having smuggled. Quebec, Ticonderoga, and one or two other places to the southward, among the back settlements, should have respectable garrisons, and always have twelve months provisions and fuel in store. Rhode Island should be garrisoned, as a station for the squadron. New York should be the principal place of arms. Small citadels should be erected at all the above-mentioned ports; the Americans, who are so good at throwing up trenches, will soon complete them.—These checks are not to be considered as badges of slavery; but as a protection of the sober, against the mad part of the community: nor need they hinder individuals from enjoying the fullest security in their persons and property.

In the West Indies, every island should have a free port, for the exchange of American produce with foreign colonists. But it should be confiscation of ship and cargo, and forfeiture of security, for Americans to trade immediately with the Dutch, Danish, French, or Spanish colonies; the reason of this restriction will hereafter appear. Foreigners should be allowed to traffic in cash, cattle, hides, Indian corn, useful woods, cocoa, Muscovado sugar, molasses; in short, with every raw material, the produce of America. For the accommodation of Hispaniola, Tortuga or Turks Island should be appropriated, and made a free port. By this regulation, our sugar-islands would no longer be sacrificed to the contraband trade, carried on between America and the foreign colonies.

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and public expences. We will make this plain by an example.

The old Caribbee Islands pay an internal tax of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on all their produce, except cotton, to the king's privy purse, and about one in two hundred, of their chief staple, sugar, to the ministers of the established church, both together making about five per cent. Jamaica and most of the ceded islands pay not the king's tax; and the few ecclesiastical establishments among them are too trifling to be brought into account, though they are all more able to pay both than the old Caribbee Islands.

Jamaica, in particular, has or may have, very great private advantages, in its trade with the Spanish settlements, which these islands, that pay this tax, enjoy not*. The largeness and certainty of its market, make the price of all commodities more equal and certain there than in small islands, in which the arrival of an extraordinary lading will reduce the value of a necessary article so much, as to discourage

* This trade has been for some time past in the hands of the Americans; but for this, and the reason given in the preceding note, it should be confined to Jamaica.

the dealers in it, and perhaps occasion almost a famine in it, in a few months afterwards. And the ceded islands have not yet raised the price of their cane-lands to the extravagant height to which they have reached in the old islands, where, in some cases, upwards of 250 l. sterling have been given by the acre; and they possess a richness and freshness of soil, which makes their produce bear a much greater proportion to the value of their stock than in the old islands. There is, therefore, no good reason to be given, why the whole should not be put upon an equal footing in respect of taxes, when we consider them as children deserving equal favours from, and owing equal allegiance to the parent state. But such of them as have been conquered by the arms of Britain, or settled by her public treasure, have something by way of debt or recompence to repay, rather than a claim to particular exemptions.

Let then both these taxes, in the Caribbee islands, be abolished, and let an equivalent tax of five in the hundred, which in sugar may be estimated at twenty pence for every hundred pounds of sugar at the
king's

king's beam in Britain, added to the present duty of six shillings and four pence, be laid upon the produce of all the sugar islands. Out of this the king might have a liberal equivalent for his tax, the ministers might draw their salary from the Exchequer, a considerable revenue would be left to the disposal of parliament ; the old Caribbee islands, which, in truth, are unable to bear any new imposition, would have an inconvenient tax changed into one they would not be sensible of ; and though it would be a new burden to Jamaica and the ceded islands, yet these would still be on an equal footing with the rest, and in freshness of soil and conveniency of situation, would still enjoy advantages above them*.

CHAP.

* There is only one objection to this alteration, which is, that most plantations have usually a certain proportion of sugar, of an inferior quality, which serve well enough for the payment of the king's duty. But as this inferiority generally arises from design in some, and inattention in others, the taking away this mode of paying the duty, would make planters more careful in manufacturing the sugar, and probably mend the quality of the whole.

The supposition of our sugar colonies coming under the dominion of independent America, is a frequent topic of conversation among West Indian planters, and is favoured very absurdly by too many of them. For their meditation, I will enumerate all the several ad-

C H A P. IX.

General Plan for the Government of the Colonies.

WE have vindicated the sovereign authority of the British parliament over the whole empire ; we have shewn that the colonies may not only be considered

vantages that will accrue to sugar planters from that event.

First. As soon as these new high and mighties are fixed in the sovereignty of the West Indian colonies, proclamation will be issued for every proprietor to return to his plantation, or to fix his abode in some of the thirteen states, that the profits of their plantations may be spent within the new empire. We shall have no more sugar planters, in this land of luxury, giving umbrage to nobility. Next, a severe inquisition will be made into all sums of money due in Britain by the sugar colonies, which perhaps may mount to six millions sterling. These will be claimed by the congress treasury to liquidate their debts, and, no doubt, West Indian interest will be required, till the principal be paid by installments. The congress spies boast of knowing every man's character in the West Indies. Every friend of Britain, who has property there, will be declared malignant, and his possessions will be granted to some bankrupt Henry, Adams, or Hancock.

The Americans have always preferred a trade with the French colonies to exchange with ours. It was contraband, and the French staple being of a worse quality, came more within their ability to purchase it. Whenever

ed as a part of that empire ; but as helping to constitute that respublica or national interest, which it is the duty of parliament to regulate and manage. We have shewn that taxation cannot be separated in idea from sovereignty, that the gloomy dread of sovereignty is reduced to nothing, by introducing into it, as an essential part, a temporary representation, chosen from the mass of the people, and

ever the British market is shut up from our sugar colonies, sugar and rum will fall full fifty per cent ; a comfortable expectation for men, that find the present high prices inadequate to their demands. Governments will be multiplied in every island, to provide for some worthless colonel or general, and, agreeably to the mode of all distant appendages to popular states, the governor will be arbitrary and the people will be oppressed. As Messrs. of America will then be the rivals of their present firm ally of France ; and as their possessions will interfere, and there will be no other places, that can give them a pretence for keeping up an army, the islands will be filled with soldiers, to be maintained and paid by their subjects the sugar planters. While the value of sugar and rum will be diminished one half, the present customs and excise will be continued at their full value ; and often will the poor planter be twitted with his former luxury, when he petitions to have the impost reduced. Then will they remember with bitter regret, the mild rule, and happy times of Britain, when their staple was encouraged and themselves free ; and could the suffering be confined to men who have foolishly favoured the unnatural rebellion, there must be something very peculiar in the case of them who should be found an object of pity.

returning among them, to submit to the laws which they themselves have enacted ; that our present system of colony government is essentially deficient ; and how it might be improved on the present foundation. But if we return to the threefold view, which we have given of colonies or subordinate provinces, we shall there behold a system of government gradually unfolding itself, and adapting itself to each, according to their various circumstances. This we now propose to consider.

In favour of Britain's exercising her right as sovereign, in taxing her colonies, whether settled in peace or acquired in war, considered in the first point of view as inferior appendages merely, we will not hesitate to assert, that a very large share, and even the most burdensome part of her public debt, ought to be placed to the account of her colonies. I mean, this debt has not only been contracted in their quarrel, but that they have reaped, and are now enjoying the benefit of the expence. Therefore, even setting aside the authority of the superior or parent state, the colonies, out of justice, ought to contribute, to the utmost of their power, to lighten the burden,

den, which they have laid on their parents or guardians shoulders. But justice, and far less gratitude, is not an attribute to be ascribed to communities.

If, as some of her ungenerous children say, she had only her own profit in view, when she run into these expences, then, surely, agreeable to their position, when she incurred them, she believed she was establishing a claim for re-payment. And therefore she has a right of turning to her own profit, among them, that expence which she laid out with such a view, and of obliging them to pay for a protection, of which they embraced, with anxiety, the benefit; and if a thankless province refuses such re-payment, she is vindicated for being at further expence to assert her claim, and forcing them to make the whole good, who gave occasion for the burden. Hence it clearly follows, that though a tax laid upon them, with this view of reimbursing the expence of their protection, may be both burdensome and impolitic, it cannot be deemed illegal in this respect, till the debt contracted be repaid. The very notion of accepting protection on this acknowledged consideration of re-payment,

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supposeth a power in the protector of prescribing the mode. The colonists, therefore, take nothing by this suggestion of ingratitude.

In every view, therefore, of expediency, of justice, of obligation, and authority, Britain possesses a power of taxing her colonies; and till an umpire be chosen between them, her own discretion, and attention to the general good, can alone prescribe the mode and measure of the tax. This discretionary power may be considered as an hardship; but it is an hardship incident to the best human constitution. There can be no medium between a power in the sovereign to enforce obedience, and a power in the subject to refuse obedience. And we may leave to the warmest friend of liberty, to say, whether the bulk of mankind be sufficiently disinterested and improved in the present age, and so thoroughly under the guidance of reason, as to be permitted to prescribe, each man for himself, his own conduct in society, that is, to do only what is right in his own eyes, or to be wholly without government.

Further, in all communities founded upon law, and of such only do we treat, the
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life, the liberty, the property of the individual, are to be considered, indeed, as sacred, unless when crimes forfeit them, or the public service demands them of any one, in common with others. These personal privileges emigrate to the colony with the citizen, these personal privileges cleave immediately to the foreigner, when permitted to settle within the limits of the colony or state. But whether colonists shall be allowed to trade to such and such places, or raise such and such manufactures, without contributing a share of their gains to carry on the public good, are matters to be determined by the general interest and conveniency of the state. Colonies may be considered as farms belonging to the mother country or parent state; and like farms are subject to conditions in the mode of settlement, subordinate to the interest of the country, from which they are settled. Nor is there any greater hardship in this, than when a younger brother farms, of his elder brother, a part of their common parent's estate. He claims not the occupation of the farm as his patrimony, but as an indulgence due to their common relation; and even were that particular part granted
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to him as his patrimony, the preservation of the common good, or common estate, would call upon him for service and contributions, to be paid to that brother, in whose hands are the management and protection of the whole, for the benefit of both. We may indeed carry on the analogy still further. Often is the landlord obliged to launch out into expences, contract debts, and involve his affairs, to maintain the port and interest of the family, to support a sheriffalty or some other chargeable public office, to oppose some competition of a rival family, while the younger brother or farmer keeps snug, contracted in himself, improving his own affairs, watching over the necessities of his landlord, making advantage of them, and an occasion of striking profitable leases and contracts.—The easiest, the best situation for individuals, not bitten by the tarantula of ambition, which requires for its cure the drums and horror of war, is to be member of a community, subordinate to, yet participating in, the privileges of a free state. Every privilege valuable to a private man is enjoyed, without the services and burdens, which in the sovereign state must maintain and support them.

them *. This was actually the case of America. While Britain suffered all the losses

* Yet it is to be remarked, that this state of ease and security, in a subordinate condition, is in a manner peculiar to the British empire. In almost every other case, the more free the master, the more piteous is the condition of the subject: nor is there a single case in history to indulge the analogy or encourage the extension of the comparison to the conquests of other states. Of this let the Canaanites under the Jews, the Roman, even the Athenian provinces, though dignified with the title of allies, let, at this day, the Chinese under the Dutch at Batavia, stand melancholic examples. This noble attribute of the British state arises from that participation of the constitution, which extends with the sovereignty; and it is only checked by the introduction of those little colony legislatures, which come between the colonists and the full illumination of the British parliament.

As there are many in our sugar colonies, who ungratefully take the part of America against their mother country, and capriciously wish to be detached from this last, and connected with the other, since their natural situation must ever keep them in a state of dependence, it would be right in them to consider, what constitution can they participate of, as appendages to America. All the variety of police, except the self-poised constitution of Britain, takes place in that continent, from unbalanced republicanism in the North to grossest slavery in the South. Which of these shall be taken for the model of their subordinate islands or provinces? Or will they not, like the Dutch, and every other lordly state, generous Britain excepted, monopolists of liberty, establish in them a military government, and subjugate them to the arbitrary mandates of some daring profligate or creeping miser, who has had interest enough in congress to be allowed to go and fatten on their spoils. Nor can they expect to continue to be equally well supplied with necessities

losses and inconveniencies of war, this enjoyed all the splendor and advantages of conquest. While the British labourer was obliged to divide his loaf with the soldier that protected him, or rather his fellow-citizens in America, the American was raising an exorbitant price on that soldier for the necessaries that supported him. War carried money out of Britain; war brought money into America. The British sailor, just landed from a tedious voyage, stiff with rheumatism and scurvy, must hurry away, perhaps without saluting his wife and children, pressed on board a ship of war, to fight the enemies of America, while American sailors are supplying those very enemies with necessaries and stores to carry on the contest. The British soldier shall wear out his constitution and empty his veins, and maim and disfigure his body in

cessaries from their new masters as from their old, nor to have equal credit or indulgence from them; nor that they will give up their present gainful trade with the foreign sugar colonies, to grant them a great price for their sugar and rum; and yet a small sensible decrease of the present prices of sugar would ruin great numbers in our sugar colonies. Yet though they seem conscious of all this, still the destructive novelty has charms for too many.

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the quarrel of America ; and America, lolling in the ease and plenty for which he has fought, shall deny even shelter and a resting place to her protector *. Britain—but indignation abhors and rejects the debasing humiliating picture.—We return.

Though the sovereign authority must possess the power of regulating the oeconomy of, and imposing taxes on, every province, whether represented or not, that enjoys its protection; yet all taxes are not equally proper or convenient for collection and payment; and doubtless the distance of a province from the seat of power will draw after it circumstances, which must be

* Nothing more clearly shews that all the pretended friends of America in Britain act upon factious principles, than the noise they have made about the pirates confined at Portsmouth and Plymouth. Though the Board of Admiralty and Commissioners of Sick and Hurt condescended to convince them that every assertion made in the House of Peers respecting their ill-treatment was absolutely false, and though their committee acknowledged before both Boards that they had been misinformed; yet they allow the foul blot of cruelty to rest on administration and their country, on purpose to keep the minds of the people inflamed in the cause of piracy and rebellion; while our prisoners in America are suffering every hardship, and exposed to every temptation of taking arms against their country. Such is the generosity of America and her abettors in every possible case either of protection or opposition.

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attended to in the imposition of taxes. In particular, internal taxes, laid on in a distant province, not fully incorporated, will neither be easily levied, nor go far in recruiting the Exchequer. As the mandate comes from a distance, to those who pay it, it appears a tribute invidious and burdensome; as an host of revenue officers must collect it, they will intercept, in its way to the treasury, the greatest part of it, for their maintenance. If any tax of this sort be necessary, a certain sum must be ascertained in manner of a land or poll tax. Further, colony internal taxes are like imposts upon raw materials, which operate as clog upon every separate process, and brings the thing to the consumer high-priced and ill-finished. Colony taxes check the prosecution and improvement of their several staples; and as it were crush industry in the bud. If the policy of the mother-country will consider her colonies in this first subordinate light of being subject to be taxed at will, as if they were conquered provinces, she may effect the impolitic business in a much better, more peaceable, and more effectual way than by bands of revenue officers.

It is a general maxim in trade to encourage the exportation of manufactures and staple commodities, prepared for the immediate use of the consumer, by giving back the duties, payable on importation or home consumption *.—Nothing more is necessary for laying a tax upon the colonies, but to forbid them to be supplied with merchandize from any quarter, except the mother-country, and to allow no drawback upon the exportation of commodities to them. Thus every thing will come to them saddled with the inland or consumption duty of Britain, which surely may satisfy a minister, the most anxious for taxing. — To favour the exporter, and make the burden fall on the consumer, the duties should not be made payable till eighteen months after the shipping of the goods; and a large discount should be allowed for prompt-payment.—To pursue this particular mode of taxing, let all statutes respecting drawbacks be immediately

* A late writer insinuates pretty plainly, that, in order to get the drawback, goods are entered for exportation, that never go abroad; and he proposes to have all goods intended for a foreign market, lodged at once in public warehouses, without any duty, till they be exported.

repealed. If it be thought proper to encourage the exportation of any particular manufacture or commodity by a drawback, let the indulgence be particular and temporary, that it may be considered as a favour, and that the legislature may regulate it quietly as circumstances may arise.

There is one favourable light, in which the colonists may view this mode of taxation. That of the sovereign power, without being subject to private passions, or local prejudices, checking, by its regulations in trade, the growth of luxury among them, and giving their whole consumption a turn of general utility and mutual advantage. In this view, I have always considered the present subject of dispute, tea, as a most unlucky article for the virtuous Americans, in which to shew their temperance and frugality. An ill-natured man would be apt to say, they had fallen out with their parent and protector, for restraining them in the consumption of a most useless, insignificant, expensive article of luxury; but in truth, it has only extended their usual trade, for the same article, with the Dutch islands of Curasoa and St. Eustatius. In this view of regulating

lating the trade, and directing the consumption, of the empire, this power over the drawback might be exerted to great advantage; and there would not be occasion to send, on its account, a single revenue officer over the Atlantic. The drawback, discreetly relaxed or straitened, would execute the business without noise or expence.

But to trust generally to it would be a narrow plan of policy, deserving little approbation.—In the present age, every independent state aims at buying few, and selling many things: or by encouraging their own productions and manufactures, and checking the importation of foreign articles of their consumption, they try to have as little dependence as possible on foreign state for the several articles of their consumption. We cannot prevent foreigners from endeavouring to attain this independence, and sooner or later, our exports, besides those to our own colonies, will dwindle to an insignificant quantity, except perhaps tin, and such other articles as are peculiar to us, and which, for reciprocal advantage, can be exchanged for the barter of any particular country. For this reason, it is our interest to encourage consumption in our own co-

lonies, not by restraining edicts, but by sending to them every thing cheap and well finished, that they may keep each to the production of their proper staple, and not be tempted, through necessity or ill usage, to interfere with the interest of the mother-country, by setting up manufactures, and supplying themselves and others with their own productions, in their finished state. And this still supposes, as above, a discriminating power in the mother-country over the draw-back. The cheapness and easiness of procuring our manufactures, and the increasing demand for them in our multiplying colonies, will give such full employment to our people, that revenues will flow into the treasury, and supply the public expences, far beyond the amount of any peddling tax or trifling draw-back.

And this brings us to the second view of our colonies, in which we consider them as fellow-citizens, employed about one or more staple commodities, for their own profit, and the ease and advantage of the empire. And in this case, internal taxation will be found, for the most part, as unnecessary as it is impracticable. If, as
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of necessity she must, the parent-country assumes the regulation of the foreign commerce of her colonies, and of their intercourse with each other; if she can, in consequence of this regulation, direct their staple commodities into the channel of her own trade; if she can constitute herself the manufacturer and carrier of all merchandize, produced or used in the colonies; if she continues the center of their luxury, the seat of their retirement, and standard of their taste, what can they possess or enjoy, of which she comes not in for much the largest share.

We are indeed of opinion, that this is far from being the case of America at present.—It enjoys many lucrative branches of trade, which have no dependence on, or termination in Britain. Nay, it carries on many branches of trade, to the immediate injury of Britain, and her truly valuable colonies, the sugar-islands; and the monopoly of her market, which, in many articles, she has absurdly granted America, is a very essential disadvantage to her. And it is therefore surprising, that our present American founders of empires, who already look down with disdain on the grandeur of

the Grecian and Roman empires, have not considered, that by cutting off their country from Britain, they have not only shut up their best market, but in their future exalted state, will be found to have thereby deprived themselves of a most convenient European emporium. Perhaps they hope to reap both these advantages from France, with which they are so desirous of being connected. Certain it is, that intelligent Frenchmen look forward to the independency of America, for an open trade between the countries. France, they say, has a great real demand for American commodities, and she can supply America with every thing she wants, in return, better and cheaper, (though this may be doubted,) than it is in the power of Britain to do. When it is replied to such men, that grain, which is the chief article that France wants from America, can be no longer a necessary importation, than till France understands her true interest, in respect of this staff of life, which every community ought to possess within itself; that, on the supposition, (doubtful indeed, and distant it is) of America's flourishing in its independent state, France must then
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hold her sugar colonies, valuable and important to her as they are, at the will of an American congress, who, actuated by no sentiment but ambition, influenced by no motive of justice, and sheltered by their numbers from censure or blame, will fancy that patriotism to their country, obliges them to be violent, rapacious, and treacherous to the whole world besides; these new friends of liberty acknowledge the truth of the observation, and allow that all European states, on the supposition of American grandeur, may expect to be robbed of their American possessions *.— To return;

* The conduct of France and also of Spain, in the present dispute between Great Britain and America, is surprisngly absurd and impolitic. Though Britain, agreeably to her Quixotic character, which is to be constantly taking up other people's quarrels, assumes the whole burden of the present war, and acts solely against America, which is assisted under-hand by all Europe besides, yet the war is properly of Europe against America. The present rebellion had hardly burst out, when American patriots had in idea over-run all the European sugar-colonies and South America, and reckoned upon the African and East-Indian trade as their own. And that they are capable of every villany, which they can commit with impunity, appears in the depredations committed by them on the Portugal trade; because that country would not act against an ally, to which it owes its independency. This is such a specimen of what Europe may expect, that it ought to rouse every maritime

turn ; parliament must endeavour to make the views and trade of America submit to the general good of the empire.

The case of the sugar-colonies differs greatly from that of America. Few proprietors continue to live in them, who

time state, as one man, to crush the robbers before they acquire strength. Reckoning on impunity, by reason of their distance from Europe, and their rulers as a numerous, fugitive body, having no personal character to support, and glossing over every public act of fraud and injustice, with a pretence of patriotism, no European state can have any dependence on an alliance with them, for any longer time than it suits them. The French sugar-colonies, Spanish and Portuguese America, will all be considered and claimed as manors holding of the congress, to be forfeited whenever it shall suit them to assume the possession. And this is so obvious a consequence, that I am half persuaded, if Britain shewed any inclination to allow of their dependency, both France and Spain would offer her their assistance, to subdue these would-be tyrants of the new world. If Britain could secure her sugar-colonies and fisheries, she might resign the rebel provinces with cheerfulness. Their trade, as foreigners, would be more gainful to her, than as provinces clogged with civil and military establishments and enormous private credit. But as the fate of the sugar-colonies and fisheries is bound up with the fate of the continent of America, we must struggle for the command of this, if we wish to retain them. But it would be prudent in administration, to enter into a treaty with France, Spain, and Portugal, to guarantee each other's American possessions against these upstarts, and oblige these states, at least, to call home their officers and shut up their ports, and confiscate rebel property.

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think themselves able to remove to Britain; and there parliament may fleece them, as it pleaseth. But the men, who live on their own plantations, are in general so involved in their circumstances, and are kept to such spare diet, by the sugar-factors their creditors, that far from being able to pay new taxes, they are not always able to improve, or make the most of their plantations, for the public good. In short, every impost on the sugar-colonies would lessen a more convenient tax in Britain.

This idea, which supposes the colonies employed and encouraged by the mother-country, in raising staple commodities, and furnishing raw materials to be manufactured and improved by the mother-country, is the most advantageous situation of any, for the empire, considered as one whole. Luxury and refinement are hereby confined to the seat of government, while industry and application pervade the most distant provinces of the state. And it is the interest of the sovereign power, or rather its duty, as the equal guardian of all, to take every moderate equal measure, to keep things in this condition. As the benefit
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of the members is best found in the general advantage, the colonies will find their interest in pursuing each their proper staple commodities, and in aiming at security and opulence, in contributing to public prosperity. As luxury is the proper object of taxation, and the parent-country the seat of luxury, taxes will be in a manner confined to the parent-state, and to the mutual intercourse and foreign trade permitted to the colonies ; while these, in other respects, are left free and unfettered, to supply the demands of luxury, and raise a fund for the public revenues. Happy would it be for Britain and her colonies, could they view each other in this light of mutual utility, and mutual dependence.

C H A P. X.

General Plan continued and concluded.

IN the natural progress of human affairs, the growing colonists cannot all continue to find employment in producing the staple of the country, and in many cases, the natural productions of the colony will

interfere with those of the mother-country. In the case of the advanced state of the colony, the only remedy is, to draw off the superfluous numbers into new settlements; or to encourage them to remove with their acquisitions to the seat of empire and luxury. The first method has lately taken place in the sugar-colonies, by the settlement of the ceded islands; and had there been no such drain, Britain is long likely to contain charms sufficient to draw to her every opulent sugar-planter. There is therefore no probability, that the sugar-colonies will ever interfere with the interest of the other members of the state, or that they will have any demand on the mother-country, but for protection against foreign enemies, and encouragement in the culture of their staple.

There are, indeed, few branches of trade, for which they are adapted. The following, which are now in the hands of the Americans, are the only branches within my knowledge; and if the mother-country could not occupy them, they would be much more advantageously placed for her, with the sugar-colonies, than where they are; seeing, whatever these acquire

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is added to the stock of Britain at last. In their present state, they are lost to Britain; and, though acquired or protected by her arms, go only to strengthen her unthankful rival, America.—The first branch is that which we have remarked to be carried on between America and the Spanish main, which serves for a medium to the Americans in their trade to the Dutch island of Curasoa for European and East-Indian goods. This would naturally fall to the share of Jamaica, and then would be wholly carried on with British commodities, and become a new branch of trade to her.

The second is the whale fishery, for oil and spermaceti, carried on through the whole extent of the Atlantic, by small sloops, which go even to the borders of the Eastern Ocean, and cover the Caribbean Sea and Gulph of Mexico. This might be more conveniently carried on from the sugar-islands: Barbadoes, in particular, could supply thousands of men, that now, for want of employment, can hardly exist.

The third is their trade to Africa for an inferior assortment of slaves, carried on at
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present with rum made in New England from French molasses ; but which might be carried on to greater advantage from our own sugar-islands ; and would be to them a new market for their rum.—To all these we may add, that the sugar islands are capable of producing indigo, cotton, and tobacco, sufficient to supply the demand of Britain, without affecting the sugar-trade.

Much has been said, and more apprehended, concerning the dependence of the sugar-colonies on America. Before the present disputes began, they had imprudently lessened their connection with Britain, and extended it with America. Hence the distress and inconveniency to them from the present interruption of this commerce. Except beans, split pease, the greatest part of their oats, a small quantity of biscuit, and barley for game cocks, all their grain came from America, in the articles of flour, Indian corn, Indian meal, rice, rye flour, biscuit, starch, and a few oats. America also supplies them with horses, cattle, horse-harnes, waggons, chaises, tea-kettles, soap, hats, stockings, and the like ; and all their lum-
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ber comes from thence. This article is either so bad, or ill-managed, that buildings run up with it, often within ten years need to be rebuilt. Shingles are often removed within seven years. The Americans carry away rum when it suits them, a little sugar to help them to smuggle in their French sugars, from Jamaica some molasses, and for the balance cash to supply themselves with dry goods, sugar, and molasses, at the Dutch and French islands.

The trade for provisions was in its infancy about 1750. Before that time, and even so late as 1760, the sugar-islands produced a great proportion of their own provisions in Indian corn or maize, yams, potatoes, and various kinds of pease; and what was wanting was chiefly ordered from Britain from the sugar-factor, and required no cash. Since that time, the sugar planters, in their avarice for sugar, have neglected to raise country provisions; and they are now at the mercy of any ambitious demagogue for their daily bread, whenever he shall be pleased to foment a quarrel in America against Britain.

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In this situation the sugar-islands have been obliged to support a trade both with America and Britain. But could Britain supply all their wants, and find a market for their rum, the American trade might be dropt as unnecessary and unprofitable. Though the stores wanted for the plantations equal in bulk the staple which they produce, so that the British ships, which carry away this last, might well bring the first; yet, as the stores come chiefly from one place, while the sugars are carried to another, these ships often come out in ballast, frequently but half loaded, and the planter must necessarily pay for the dead unnecessary freight. To save freight, and guard against the climate, flour and meal should be sent out from Britain, packed in puncheons of one hundred and twenty-eight gallons each, which might be afterwards sent back filled with rum. Thus every ship would come and go full, and thus be able to bring things at an easy freight, without unnecessary packages or cases.

The number of inhabitants in all our sugar-islands is about half a million, of which, about one in six is free. Making

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allowance for the nutritious roots and fruits of the country, four bushels of imported grain for each inhabitant, will be equal to the whole consumption, including that of horses, and other live stock, and poultry. It is to be remarked also, that little fine flour is wanted, the chief demand being for beans, pease, rye, barley, oats, oatmeal, and an inferior kind of flour. The whole quantity of imported grain, used in the sugar-colonies, is within two millions of bushels, which will grow on an hundred thousand acres of ordinary land. Surely Britain can easily add such a number of acres to those already in culture, as will make her present exportation equal to that quantity, in order to preserve and attach to herself such valuable colonies*. And certainly the British farmer

* Properly speaking, all lands belong to the community, but are allotted to individuals to be worked for public benefit. This is well enough expressed in our constitution, by supposing all landed property to have originated from the crown, and to return to it again when the heirs of the last possessor cannot be found. The man then who would purchase, or otherwise procure for himself, a large territory, and lay it waste, driving off the inhabitants, and grubbing up the trees, would be guilty of treason against the community. All are injured, who either used to draw, or might have drawn, sustenance from it; the public stock is annihilated, and

mer can produce it as cheap as the American. And were the trade properly regulated,

and the public income lessened, and the community has a right to seize it, and parcel it out anew, so as to make it useful to society. This assertion, I allow, contradicts the common opinion of that free use, which every individual is supposed to have a right to enjoy over his property. But, if allowed to refer to first principles, we will not be afraid to maintain it. With what view doth a colony first settle in a new territory—in order to draw a maintenance from it. The various offices of society, the various talents of its members, necessarily divide the citizens into various employments. But all require food, and that must be drawn from the soil; and in allotting the soil to individuals, a tacit compact is implied of producing on it, that which it is capable of supplying, to feed, clothe, and lodge those who are otherwise employed. The state of agriculture is therefore an important object of police; and among all the committees of parliament, none would be of more utility or consequence than one to take cognizance of it. Commissioners should be appointed in every county to examine into the state of agriculture, and deliver in to the county members an annual report, to be digested, for the whole kingdom in parliament; they should have a power of imposing fines on the negligent, and granting premiums to the industrious. Thus the quantity of grain, produced in every year, might be ascertained, and exportation, and the distilleries, might be regulated with the greatest exactness; and even the extent of land, to be employed yearly in the growth of grain, might be prescribed.—To complete the plan, a fund should be formed, and granaries erected to buy up and lodge grain whenever it fell below a given price. Whenever this is attended to, the sugar-colonies will not be under the necessity of crouching to America for food. Such, indeed, is the progress of agriculture in Britain,

gulated, the freight might be lower than from America, the ships having a full freight outwards and homewards.

Further, the usual exportation of grain from Britain, exceeds all the extraordinary demand that will be made on Britain by the sugar-colonies ; why may not then this exportation be turned to this new market ? Or suppose the distilleries stopped, and the consumption of rum encouraged in Britain by lessening the duty. Here is both a market for rum, a supply of grain for the West Indies, and the quantity of grain for exportation also increased ; an article, in which no country can exceed, if it can find a market abroad. In short, Britain, by only using a little prudent motherly attention, may supply the sugar-islands with grain at a more equal moderate price than America has done ; and it is a branch of trade which she ought particularly to keep in her own hands, as well that in order to keep it from falling back, the legislature will soon be obliged to give every encouragement for the exportation of grain. The West Indian market may be easily secured : but it is too contracted to answer any great purpose. An useful barter might be opened with the northern crowns of grain for timber. Grain too cheap threatens as much danger to the community as scarcity itself.

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to bind the colonies to herself, as for the encouragement of her own agriculture. To the sugar-colonies it would be a favour; for instead of paying for a great part of their necessaries with cash, they would receive them from that country which takes off their staple.

Indeed, it is the opinion of many experienced planters, and sensible men, that the change of crops, occasioned by the planting of country provisions, was, with a proper fallow, more favourable to the fertility of the soil, than the present method of confining its produce entirely to the sugar-cane *. It is certain that now, when
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* The following is the usual absurd method of raising country provisions. A field, in which the sugar cane has been just cut down, is, for example, filled immediately with yams. As soon as they are dug in, it is planted again with the sugar cane. Thus the same field is kept from forty months to four years in constant culture, almost without the least fallow or rest; and, in the hurry, the field is planted out of its usual season. Need a man be surprised if he find the land injured; and yet so friendly in general is change of crops to the soil, that it remains yet a disputed point, whether yams hurt the future crops of cane. But surely the return of a nutritious root, which continues in the ground eight months, and is often in value forty pounds sterling per acre, may very well be allowed to go for a crop, and procure a proper rest for the land. But the truth is, our

nothing is required from the soil but the cane, though there be twice the attention paid to the dressing of the land, which was paid fifteen years ago, yet the crops are by no means answerable, while the ordinary expences of the plantation are almost doubled.

We have proposed throwing the North American slave-trade into the hands of the sugar-colonies, as a new market for their rum, and ultimately profitable to Britain through them, instead of being divided as it is between France and America. The British ships, in the slave-trade, generally return to Britain in ballast. Suppose a quantity of rum, sufficient to supply the African market, were manufactured in our islands to imitate the New England fiery spirit; the slave-ships might carry it home, lodge it in the King's warehouses, and add it to their assortment when they fit out for Africa. The duty paid on it should be only some trifle to ascertain the quantity used in that branch of trade, and pay for the storage of it. Already has the stop

plantations are too small in extent, and the demands made on them by luxury too pressing to suffer the voice of œconomy to be heard.

put to the distillation of French molasses in New England, encouraged several merchants in the sugar-islands to fit out vessels with rum for the coast of Africa. We might add here, that Africa might supply the sugar islands with cattle and mules, and a better kind of rice than that from Carolina. We have some trade with Africa for all these articles, and it might be easily increased. We have now only to provide lumber.

I will suppose ungrateful America entirely cut off from the British empire. A more convenient and easy trade might be opened with the Dutch colonies in Guiana, in South America, for much better lumber of all sorts than comes now from North America. Jamaica, and our new islands, afford many useful woods, particularly hard wood, posts, staves, and shingles, which last, well smoothed and prepared, would last on the roof of an house a century. Supposing we had no medium to give in barter to the Dutch for their lumber, except bills on London, it would not, perhaps amount to one third of that of which we are usually drained by America. But we should receive the lumber in payment

for the slaves bought from us by the Dutch for the French and Spanish markets; unless we, at last, have good sense enough to make our several islands free ports, for that and many other gainful purposes, which might easily be pointed out. Indeed, were the Spaniards allowed a free trade with our islands for their silver, tobacco, cocoa, cattle, dying wood, timber, maize, &c. and did Britain sufficiently supply us with grain, and open a market for our rum, we might then prescribe to North America what intercourse we chose to have with her. But the pitiful policy of giving her a monopoly of our trade, (almost to the exclusion of Britain) while she trades to all the world besides, and just feeds our market with the refuses of her commodities, so as puts the conditions in her own power, stands in the way of sound reason.

If any difficulty remained in supplying the islands with lumber, it might be procured from the northern crowns. Or, suppose a few licensed large ships, belonging to them, for which security has been given in London, were allowed to import lumber into the sugar-colonies, and
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carry back sugar to Britain, they being obliged to export, to their own country, grain, or other British commodities, to the amount of the value of their lumber and freight. Indeed the Danes and Swedes sail their ships so cheaply, that they could almost afford to give away their lumber for a full lading of sugar and rum on freight, as the Americans themselves sometimes do. In evidence of the propriety of the proposal here suggested, lumber has been brought from the bottom of the Baltic, carried round to Glasgow, and landed there, at a little more than half the price of American lumber. I proceed to the third view of the colonies.

When, from any cause, the number of the colonists becomes so great, that the collecting of raw materials, and raising of staple commodities, adapted to the country, cannot employ the inhabitants thereof, and they can neither be draughted off, or persuaded to retire, then will they naturally endeavour to commence manufacturers, and interfere with the carrying and other trade of the mother country. The first remedy which offers itself for this evil

evil is, by restraining edicts to check every effort which will affect the mother country; turning the industry of the colonists to objects, no matter whether well or ill adapted to their climate and soil, compatible with the interest of the sovereign state. But this mode, though often practised with little remorse, unless when intended as a punishment for ill behaviour, is unmotherly, impolitic, illiberal. The political bond in every state should be mutual utility. But this is overlooked and contradicted, where any member of the state, however small and insignificant it be, is sacrificed to the interest or advantage of another part.

Whenever the mother country and her colonies find themselves in this situation, and wish to continue in the same political union, the whole preceding commercial system must undergo an entire change, and a very simple maxim would regulate the the whole anew. With a reservation of the seat of empire, and a parental influence to the mother country, agreeable to the reasoning with which we set out, consider the empire as one whole, and with regard
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to taxation, each province as producing one commodity and consuming another; or, extend the privileges and taxes of the mother country over the whole empire alike. Every article, imported into any colony, should pay the same tax it would pay in Britain, with, perhaps, an exception in favour of materials necessary for carrying on the particular staple of the colony, as quicklime in the manufacture of sugar. Every article exported from any colony, or from Britain, should pay that tax, and it only, which is laid upon merchandize intended for a foreign market. I mean, the only duty laid upon exportation should be that which the encouragement of foreign consumption will allow of. When the exportation is from one part of the empire to another, the duty, at the port of delivery, can always have respect to that which has already been paid, under the name of foreign duty, at the shipping port. This would abolish the necessity of custom-house bonds, and introduce simplicity into the intricate business of that department.

If moderate duties upon the exports and imports of the empire, should be found in-

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sufficient to answer the exigencies of the state, the next desirable method of laying on imposts would be by way of excise. This is indeed a word of a bad sound ; but unless when a tax is a premium for a particular indulgence, as in the case of beer sold, were internal taxes suspended, till they could each be levied on the consumer, the very introduction of this mode of taxation would operate, in respect of the people, as the abolition of an heavy tax, in respect of the treasury, as the introduction of a new sum. The amount of the yearly taxes of Britain is about ten millions, the expences of collecting them are estimated at near two millions more. These sums equally levied among fifteen millions of the richest people would not be felt.

Luxury is the proper object of all internal taxes. The necessaries of life should rest untouched, the materials of manufactures should remain unfettered ; being both wanted to put industry in motion. Every acquisition of industry naturally dischargeth itself in luxury. Luxury, properly speaking, is the overflowing of industry. The public, therefore, which affords the man
leisure

leisure and opportunity to get rich, has a right to share in his riches. A tax upon necessaries is cropping wealth in the bud. Let industry ripen, and then reap it freely.

There is only one outlet of luxury which should not be taxed, the passion for turning bullion into utensils or plate. The exportation of coin has been universally condemned as impolitic and destructive. Yet it may be doubted, whether a practice be, in fact, so bad, which brings in, into a country, things necessary or useful, in exchange for a metal, which itself is only useful, in the moment in which it becomes the measure or barter for other things ; a practice, which keeps down the nominal price of labour, and of every useful article, by lessening and keeping moderate the quantity of that metal, by which they are estimated. But to fall in with the common prejudices, and also provide a fund for private and public necessity, and to keep down the price of labour and necessaries, let the people be encouraged to lessen the quantity of circulating coin, by turning it into plate. The want of circulating coin, so frequently lamented, and
which

which perhaps, by this encouragement, may be supposed to be increased, is more owing to the inconvenient size, and value of the pieces in circulation, than to the real scarcity of money. But to render this scheme effectual, no paper should be allowed in circulation, except for cash actually in bank.

Thus all local privileges, hardships, and taxes, would be done away; every province would push on its natural advantages for the general benefit. Scotland would attend to its fisheries, and improve its linen, England would multiply its grain, and polish its manufactures. Ireland would stock its pastures, and extend its fisheries to the banks of Newfoundland. Public burdens would be equally borne; common advantages would be equally shared. The whole cemented by the bands of trade and policy, would acquire a strength and consistency, of which, in our present discordant state, we are incapable of forming an opinion. England has more than doubled the exertion of her strength, by the incorporation of Scotland; how much more would her energy increase, were Ireland

land and the colonies adopted into one equal system of laws and commerce. For as England is the undoubted, though the reluctantly allowed, head, so would she reap the greatest profit, from this extension of freedom and commercial advantages. And as the tide of commerce flows naturally towards the capital, that city would most sensibly feel the benefit of the regulation.

This incorporation, or communication of privileges and rights, is that plan of equal liberty and equal law, which generous freedom would extend to all her children, and which, for the improvement and stability of the British empire, it were to be wished the manners of the present age were prepared to receive. And which, could example persuade us, we should embrace. It was the absurd reluctance, which the Athenians had, even to communicate to individuals the rights of citizens, which made their once splendid maritime empire of so short a duration. It was the readiness, with which the Romans incorporated their conquests, that gave stability, extension, and strength to their sovereignty.

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In this general plan, we have not repeated what we have already proposed, concerning the admission of American representatives into parliament; because, though such a measure would no doubt fall in with the common prejudices, respecting representation, and might, in itself, be a proper and just measure, though we think the measure highly practicable, and the present the season for enacting it, yet, in the plan, which we have proposed for the government of the colonies, by the impartial extensions of privileges and burdens, it is in no respect necessary for the purposes of freedom or security, while our legislature already contains an essential branch taken, for a period from, and returning after a period, again into the mass of the people. It is remarkable, that the Greeks, whose love of freedom cannot be disputed, had so little notion of the necessity of representation, in that very extensive light for which our American patriots contend, that, though they thought themselves capable of managing in their own persons, in their assemblies, the ordinary affairs of the community; yet when any

violent disorder or confusion had crept in among them, they were accustomed to resign their legislative powers into the hands of some single citizen, whose skill and candour they held in estimation, reckoning themselves secure in the reflection, that when he made laws for them, he bound himself, his family, and friends. With all due deference to the sages of antiquity, the British parliament, to the great emolument of the colonies, has been accustomed to exercise a power of like kind with the Grecian legislators, over them; and such are the prejudices, intrigues, and little, narrow, exclusive schemes, prevailing among the colonies, that parliament will continue under the necessity of daily exercising this authority. Why may it not then, under proper regulations, at once assume the power of ordinary legislation for them? Did they not grasp at the shadow, while, in setting up for themselves, they spurn at the substance of freedom, they would solicit parliament to take upon it this task.

In truth, the present ties between Great Britain, its legislature, and America, properly

perly drawn out into action, are sufficient, in our system, to secure every valuable purpose of society, which the last can claim or desire. In saying this, I forbid all reference to the gloomy inexperienced fears of suspicion, and the dread of what parliament, possibly, may do, destructive of the rights of America; because there is nothing more vague, more silly, more uncertain, yet more unanswerable than such suggestions. The friends of America place the height of political security in every man's being his own legislator; that is, in the dissolution of all the claims of society. But suppose every single person erected into so many individual states, without even the mutual attraction of Epicurus's atoms, for attraction would produce mutual dependence; what, in a melancholic disgusted mind, shall preserve this kingdom of *I* from suicide or self-destruction; or, is this a government for which Englishmen are particularly adapted? We know this case happens every day; the other, parliamentary oppression, remains yet a non-entity in the regions of discontent.

To conclude, if our plan of incorporation, and equal taxation, should take place,
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the union between Britain and her colonies would be strengthened, the energy of government would be felt in the most distant provinces; and the whole co-operating to one point of equal liberty and equal law, would flourish, invincible by any any force. Thus would Britain, enriched by, and protecting her colonies, sit as the revered, watchful, invigorating head of the empire, the center of commerce, and QUEEN of the nations.

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END OF THE FIRST VOLUME

